The Nation.

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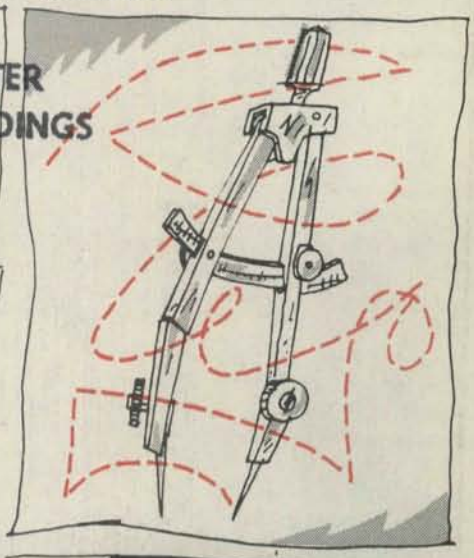
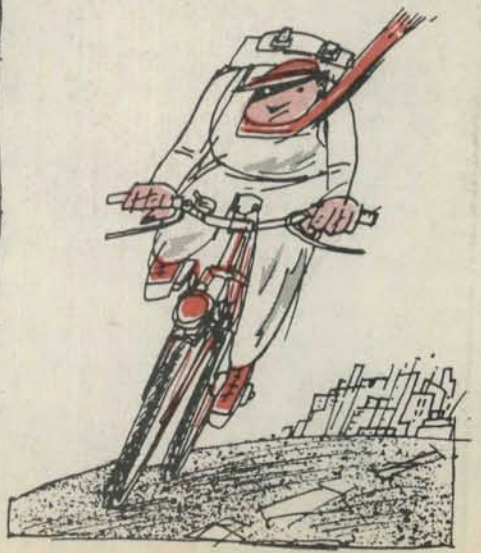


STUDENTS ON THE MOVE



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LETTERS.

'ROCKET CITY' MAYOR FIRED UP

Huntsville, Ala.

Daniel Charles has joined the fraternity of Star Wars critics, along with members like Carl Sagan, who portray the Strategic Defense Initiative as a pork barrel. In his December 19, 1987, article in *The Nation* ["Star Wars Fell on Alabama"], he indicts Huntsville for partaking of the barrel without really believing in the program.

This elaborately developed theme gives a distorted picture of Huntsville's role in S.D.I. Most people engaged in the program in Huntsville have a deep-seated conviction that it is a noble enterprise, representing a long-overdue shift in national strategic policy. As expressed by President Reagan in his announcement of S.D.I. almost five years ago, it is a quest for a way to "save lives rather than to avenge them." It is a program aimed at finding an alternative to mutually assured destruction (MAD) as the basis for nuclear deterrence. It is not an intellectual or moral strain for most people to conclude that there must be a better way than MAD, a doctrine that bases deterrence exclusively on the threat of nuclear retaliation.

While it is true that most engineers in Huntsville do not go around espousing strategic theory, there is not a pervasive sentiment that S.D.I. is merely a meal ticket. It is not true that "the engineers at Teledyne Brown support S.D.I. more for reasons of job security than because of ideological conviction." Furthermore, Charles's selective quotations concerning a lack of interest in the ultimate purpose of S.D.I., the investment in S.D.I. research being "money thrown out the window" and the whole strategic context of the program being "crazy" are not representative of the majority view in Huntsville. In fact, it is a disservice to the community that has nurtured the strategic defense mission and technology for over thirty years.

The roots of S.D.I. extend into the early origins of ballistic missile defense in Huntsville, beginning with the emergence of the Nike-Zeus program in 1955 from the air defense family of Nike-Ajax and Nike-Hercules. Since then, through generations of Nike-X, Sentinel and Safeguard, Huntsville has been a center of research and development for the technology now flying the banner of S.D.I. It was this center that produced the dramatic homing overlay experiment in 1984, the first successful nonnuclear intercept of an intercontinental ballistic missile warhead, a challenge likened to "hitting a bullet with a bullet."

From my perspective as a longtime Huntsville resident, and as its Mayor for twenty years, it is eminently logical that Huntsville was selected to play a major role in the S.D.I. program. It is not a matter of pork-barrel politics that Alabama is the fourth leading state in S.D.I. funding; rather it is because of the solid foundation of technical expertise and strategic defense know-how that resides in Huntsville.

It would not be accurate to suggest, as Charles discovered, that there are no Huntsville S.D.I. engineers who have a shallow view of what S.D.I. is all about. As with any large-scale program, there are participants who do not have the big picture and others who, unfortunately, harbor a rather cynical view of the objectives and likelihood of success. To concentrate on this minority, however, is a journalistic misdeed. The more common view is that it is morally satisfying to be working on a program that is dedicated to protecting lives, defending the national value structure and, ultimately, helping make nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." Few S.D.I. engineers can be found who share Sagan's perverse view that there is an analogy between the job-producing qualities of S.D.I. and that of building ovens in Nazi Germany.

There is also a contestable economic verdict on S.D.I. in the Charles article. He concludes that S.D.I. research is of little use in solving the country's economic difficulties and, at worst, "it is part of the problem." It is difficult to trace and quantify the spinoff benefits of a large government research and development program; however, it is irresponsible to write it all off as a waste or a part of the economic problem. Historically, defense R&D programs have served as a catalyst in the application of emerging technology and as an underwriter for high-risk, high potential payoff research that might otherwise not be undertaken. The more fundamental and challenging the research goals have been, the more potential payoff has existed for the civilian sector. S.D.I. research is in the category that has the greatest potential for technology transfer. And, contrary to some opinion, if the S.D.I. program did not exist, its budget would not necessarily be reprogrammed into a space mission to planet Mars or to some other favorite nondefense project.

There are other incidental swipes at Huntsville along with the article's main focus on a mercenary image with respect to S.D.I. Among these are the suggestion that there is little concern for the poor, racism reflected by the absence of black faces in a Chamber of Commerce brochure and the tearing down of a low-rent housing project with no provisions for relocating the tenants. All of these dark reflections could be lightened with a more objective description of the city, including its enviable record for support of charities and significant programs to stimulate educational and career enrichment opportunities for the disadvantaged.

Charles also brushed past one of the most fundamental aspects of Huntsville's recent growth: The three largest private employers in the city, Intergraph, SCI Systems and Chrysler Electronics, are not defense contractors, S.D.I. or otherwise. Together these three companies have more than twice as many employees as the U.S. Army Strategic Defense Command and all its Huntsville contractors combined.

Joe W. Davis

CHARLES REPLIES

Washington

Mayor Joe W. Davis isn't embarrassed that Huntsville owes a large part of its prosperity to the arms race. What upsets him is the suggestion that Huntsville's engineers work on S.D.I. for practical reasons that anyone can understand: professional challenge and job security. According to the Mayor, most people work on Star Wars because they believe antimissile weapons have a high moral purpose. That certainly isn't my impression, and I'm not sure which motive would bother me most.

For many (though certainly not all) in Huntsville, the city's identity has merged with the nation's rocket and missile programs. Like a fan cheering for the football team that wears his hometown's name, Mayor Davis bursts with pride at the technical feats of Star Wars.

But if the topic is the economic health of the country and not just the pride and prosperity of Huntsville, what's the point of "hitting a bullet with a bullet"? Mayor Davis echoes Pentagon officials, pointing to hoped-for spinoffs from Star Wars research. Certainly, there will be some useful technology developed under Star Wars, and every time there is, the Pentagon will trumpet it far and wide. But if anyone is seriously trying to develop technologies that will have a widespread impact, raise productivity and create jobs, Stars Wars is a senseless way to go about it.

Mayor Davis and I do agree on one point. Huntsville is more diverse than the focus of my article. But not because of three large private firms who do no defense work: All three either moved to Huntsville to work for NASA or were founded by former NASA or Army contractors. The diversity of Huntsville is in the activists who fight for public housing and better community services, the flea markets and the rousing country music bar with more than enough free seafood to go around during happy hour. There's plenty in Huntsville for Mayor Davis to be proud of, and it's not funded by tax dollars.

Daniel Charles

CORRECTION

The quotation beginning the right-hand column of page 341 of *The Nation*'s March 12 issue [see Michael T. Klare, "The U.S. and the World After Reagan"] was mistakenly ascribed to Senator Albert Gore Jr. The speaker was Senator Robert Dole.

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EDITORIALS.

After the Chill

Back in the decade when the Little Red Book was all the rage on college campuses, activists liked to pop one of Chairman Mao's favorite questions: "Where do correct ideas come from?" It was actually a short multiple-choice quiz. "Do they drop from the sky?" "Are they innate in the mind?" No to both. Correct ideas—that is, workable, appropriate responses to real problems—come "from social practice, and from it alone." You say you want a revo-o-lution? Then analyze the system, organize against it, fight it and turn it on its head.

Needless to say, no one got to the end of that string, and before long the red book was out of fashion and the song about revo-o-lution was pressed into service to sell footwear. What Alexander Cockburn, in an afterword to this special issue on new student movements [see page 423], calls "the commodification of more or less everything" had taken the purpose out of the movements and dried the pools of praxis from which ideas arise. But looking back now from the fairly safe distance of the late 1980s, it's clear that

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movements were not really dead but dormant. People from the old days and, remarkably, even more from the new were continuing the political traditions of the great insurgent period on narrower grounds, often within "the system" that never did get overturned, and without much sense of a community of action. The correct idea of the Big Chill era, in the negative sense, was *isolation*, and it grew out of atomized, circumscribed social activism without a nourishing network to give it larger meaning.

We know that the culture of isolation, which starved collective political action in the last long years of Reaganite captivity, is rapidly and radically changing. The student movements discussed in this issue are both emblematic of change and causally related to it. It's hard to know exactly how movements rise and fall. Like clouds and winds and waterspouts, social insurgencies seem random swells of turbulence that should be described in terms of chaos rather than cause and effect. But it must be that the upwelling of protests against apartheid, the widespread attacks on C.I.A. recruitment, the return of left-intellectual discourse, the interest in feminism and gay and lesbian liberation, and the revival of student-community coalitions and local organizing are part of a general revival of the progressive spirit.

It's visible in popular culture, as black, Asian and white ethnic themes now dominate the media where only a short while ago Dynastic families rose and fell and yuppie values triumphed. Who would have thought that the Castorinis of the movie *Moonstruck* would be more chic than the Ewings of *Dallas*? Even chic isn't chic, and the characteristics of cool are changing. In music, the beat and the energy come from Africa and the Caribbean and Brazil rather than the San Fernando Valley and Midtown Manhattan. Look around: Design is different, art is different, pedagogy is different. Tokens of change are visible everywhere: A current exhibition of political art at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, Committed to Print, would have been unthinkable five years ago. Even the word "committed" would have been too gauche for words.

The debate has begun about the nature of the new beast. Not many in their right mind say they want a revo-o-lution now, but is it time for a new surge of socialism, Western-style? Has another populist moment returned after a century or so of elitist rule? Is there, in fact, a movement of the 1990s already in formation, a coalition of coalitions, Rainbow and populist, black and white and pink (at least) all over, student/worker/senior/liberal; peace-prone, gender-sensitive and solidarity-specific?

No less an authority than New York Governor Mario Cuomo observed recently that great changes in the configuration of politics are taking place. He was asked about the sudden surge of Jesse Jackson's campaign in the week before Super Tuesday and Jackson's endorsement by Texas populist hero Jim Hightower. "But what's so new about it?" he shrugged. "It's the way we were raised. It's the sixties. In the seventies, too: a little nuance here and there, a little change. A fascinating situation but very, very unclear."

The student section of the emerging movement will have to take its new character and patterns into account, just as the student organizations of the 1960s responded to the great causes and consequent campaigns of that decade: civil rights and black organizing work, Vietnam and the mass mobilizations against the war. The precipitate dispatch of U.S. troops to Honduras last week could lead to a war in Central America—or the prospect of one—that would again rally students into anger and action.

Soldier's Home

Wayne Felde landed in Vietnam on his nineteenth birthday, in March of 1968, and never left the battlefield. He was killed by the enemy fire of an electric chair in Louisiana ten days before his thirty-ninth birthday.

These days Vietnam veterans suffering from the web of symptoms known as post-traumatic stress disorder (P.T.S.D.) are given special V.A. hospital units, intensive drug therapy and psychotherapy and, according to a March 6 *New York Times Magazine* article, Outward Bound-type treks to help them rejoin society. Last week the State of Louisiana found another way to deal with a sufferer of P.T.S.D. They executed him [see Lucinda Franks, "Soldier's Pay," *The Nation*, October 25, 1980, and Doug Magee, "The Long War of Wayne Felde," *The Nation*, January 2-9, 1982]. Wayne Felde went to the electric chair at midnight on March 14, after seven years on Louisiana's death row. "They can kill the messenger," Felde told his lawyer a week before the execution, "but they can't kill the message of what the Vietnam War did to people like me."

What the war did to Wayne Felde was similar to what it did to some half-million other veterans of that conflict. It sank a jagged shard, more horrific than *Platoon*-watchers could imagine, deep into the soul and psyche of these men and left them with lives permanently tied to their year in the jungles. This festering wound, officially classified as P.T.S.D. only shortly before Felde's trial, manifested itself in the sufferer as severe depression, drug and alcohol abuse, flashbacks, suicidal tendencies and violent outbursts without provocation. For Wayne Felde, P.T.S.D. led to a manslaughter conviction in 1972 and one suicide attempt, which, when interrupted by a rookie police officer, led to what Felde said was the officer's accidental death—and a first-degree murder conviction. As Philip Caputo, a writer and fellow Vietnam veteran, put it, "Felde was not at the scene of either crime. He was where he has been for nearly 14 years, at a place called Fire Base Polly Ann."

Even though P.T.S.D. has been used as a successful defense in murder cases in the state since Felde's conviction, the Board of Pardons turned down Felde's plea for clemency. The state's intransigency might be understandable given the vengeance theory of the death penalty in this country. But the attitude of the Vietnam Veterans of America, who at their convention last summer voted not to support Felde's appeal, is incomprehensible. According to reports, law-and-order elements in the organization—veterans now in law enforcement—blocked the passage of a motion of support

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brought to the floor by Richard Goorley, a national V.V.A. board member and one of Felde's lawyers. Like the jury that sentenced him, Felde's brothers in arms ignored the disease and condemned him as a cop killer.

The saddest irony of Wayne Felde's case is that he didn't have to go to war. The sole surviving son of a World War II veteran, he could have obtained an exemption, but he lobbied an official in the Pentagon to send him to Vietnam. He went a patriot and returned "not a criminal but a troubled and wrecked man," he told the jury in Caddo Parish. As such he fell prey to a disease then unnamed and a vindictive criminal-justice ideology just then reviving a death penalty supposedly made fairer by the Supreme Court.

Despite the inhuman deprivations of death row, Wayne Felde managed to progress, to begin to understand himself and to reach out to a small circle of friends. He abhorred the idea of asking for clemency, feeling, rightly as it turned out, that he would be humbling himself before politically motivated bureaucrats. He wanted something that he never got, that many of his fellow servicemen have never been given, the dignity of the recognition of their efforts. He came home to a deaf ear, he died to a deaf ear.

They killed the messenger, all right, but the message survives. There should be a special section of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial for people like Wayne Felde, for those who died in Vietnam and lived to tell about it. DOUG MAGEE

Doug Magee is a screenwriter and member of the executive board of the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty.

White Man's Medicine

On the Pine Ridge reservation in southwestern South Dakota—home of the Oglala Sioux Indians and the second-largest reservation in the United States—a crisis in health care has developed as a result of Reagan Administration budget cuts.

On average, Americans spend $1,800 annually per person for health care. The Indian Health Service—by law the sole provider of health care for Indian reservations—receives $800 to $900 per person for water, sewer and sanitation services as well as for health care. The national ratio of physicians to patients is 1 to 500. On the Pine Ridge reservation, which is roughly the size of Connecticut, it is 1 to 2,000.

If the Indians at Pine Ridge were a healthy population, these statistics would be troubling. But a shortage of doctors is only the beginning of the Indians' problems. A century of poverty and oppression has left a legacy of alcoholism, violence, self-neglect and other socially induced diseases that the average physician sent to the reservation does not know how to treat.

Administration budget cuts, compounded by bureaucratic bungling and possible mismanagement, have resulted during the past year in a 40 percent drop in the number of physicians and physicians' assistants. At the same time the number of patient visits has increased by 14 percent. The effect of the reductions on health services, not to mention employee morale, is considerable.

One nurse whose temporary position was cut to half time expressed her deep frustration: "I don't know what to do. I've exhausted my savings in three months. I have children to feed and one who needs to go to college." Although she has looked for work at other hospitals, she says, "I'm an Indian and these are my people. I went to school to become a nurse so I could work here."

The radiology department at Pine Ridge Hospital has been reduced from five and a half technician positions to two and a half. Their job is to provide twenty-four-hour X-ray coverage for 85,000 expected patient visits in 1988. The number of laboratory technicians has dropped from ten to five. Optometric offices are so understaffed that 75 percent of Indians needing eye care cannot get it.

Part of the problem seems to rest with the Indian Health Service area office in Aberdeen, South Dakota. The office has hired more administrators at higher Civil Service levels, while the hours of poorly paid hospital workers are being cut by half. There are also rumors of cronyism and mismanagement of funds in the Aberdeen office.

Doctors at the Pine Ridge Hospital initially feared that they would have to close the emergency room at night and on weekends because of the lack of funds. Since there are no private doctors on the reservation, that would have meant that Indian babies and critically ill older people might die. We were able to avoid that action, but we still have been unable to restore the personnel and services that are so desperately needed. DR. JOSHUA LIPSMAN

Dr. Joshua Lipsman is a staff physician at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation hospital in Pine Ridge, South Dakota, a hospital under the jurisdiction of the Indian Health Service.

THE FIRST 80 YEARS

The many friends and admirers of I.F. Stone guaranteed that his Socratic symposium on March 22 at The New School in New York City would be sold out well in advance. Those of us in the overflow crowd, as it were, congratulate him on his more than sixty years as a journalist. People sometimes ask what Izzy's initials stand for: how about Independent Force? In his columns for *The Nation* and other publications over the years, as well as his still-admired "I.F. Stone's Weekly," he has always gone his own way, digging up stories after the journalistic pack has moved on. As he said about one of his beats: "A scoop isn't a matter of luck; you work, you dig, you make calls, you grab the discrepancy, the loose thread, and you pull. And you have to have been paying attention in the first place." (The quote is from *I.F. Stone: A Portrait*, by Andrew Patner, recently published by Pantheon Books.)

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BEAT THE DEVIL.

He Did Not Stand Idly By

The trench filled with 583 bodies—Vietnamese men, women and children systematically killed by soldiers in Charlie Company over a number of hours starting at 7:30 A.M., March 16, 1968, recorded later that day by U.S. Army photographer Ron Haeberle—has not figured much this year in retrospectives of the 1960s. And, in fact, set against the backdrop of the maniacal B-52 bombings in the South and the free-fire clearances conducted by the United States through 1968 and 1969, My Lai was nothing special in the way of war crimes. Speedy Express, as I note on page 423 of this issue, saw at least 5,000 noncombatant Vietnamese killed. (I should also say that all these numbers are speculative; almost certainly underestimates.) The United States didn't just threaten to bomb Vietnam back to the Stone Age; it went right ahead and did so. But My Lai became the war crime of choice, and its ultimate exposure in the United States was due entirely to the courage of one man, Ron Ridenhour. Without Ridenhour there would have been no Army investigation, no Hersh, nothing; except perhaps the memorial in Vietnam listing the 583 victims by name, for the N.L.F. had reported the massacre right away, but no one in America paid any attention.

"Did we learn anything?" Ridenhour said the other day. "A lot of Americans learned, a lot of middle-class people learned, 'Gosh, these guys will do anything.' I learned that. The motherfuckers will do anything. There really are no limits."

These days Ridenhour is working in New Orleans for a magazine called *City Business.* He just won a George Polk Award for local reporting, on graft in the city government. Back in March of 1967 he was 20, living in Arizona, and had just been drafted. He was shipped to Hawaii in September and trained in long-range reconnaissance with men who ended up being assigned to Charlie Company, under the command of Lieut. William Calley. Ridenhour was assigned to helicopter observation in Vietnam and later to a reconnaissance unit.

"Right after My Lai," Ridenhour recalled for me last week, "a lot of these guys in Charlie Company started to transfer back into long-range reconnaissance. The first guy I ran into, I said, 'Hey, what have you guys been doing?' And they said, 'Oh man, did you hear what we did at Pinkville?'

"I said, 'No, what's Pinkville?' It was a village; that's what they called My Lai at the time, Pinkville. He tells me this story about how they went in and massacred all those people. When I heard that, I was horrified; my response was pretty much instantaneous. I wanted to get away from it, and I thought the only way I could do that, get away from it, not be part of it, would be to discover whether it was true, and if it was true, to denounce it. To act against it in some way.

"I proceeded to do that. Every time I ran into someone who had been with that unit, I'd say, 'Hey man, what happened?' These young men were traumatized and horrified that they had been involved in this. Now, all the time I was compiling this information I didn't have anyone I could—it was a very precarious situation, as you can imagine."

"Did you think someone might just kill you?"

"Well, I didn't know. I mean, these guys had just been involved in a massacre."

"You were making notes?"

"I was keeping a notebook in my head. I did go down to Twenty-third Division office and obtain the official account of that action, which of course was quite different from what actually occurred. I took some notes on that. Everything else I just kept in my head. Do you know what a LRRP mission is? Well, they'd bring you out by helicopter in five- and six-man units, out into the jungle, way back in the mountains, and you'd watch trails and count enemy soldiers. It was considered a pretty risky business. Whole recon teams went into the jungle and were never heard from again.

"For my first five missions four of the people I went out with were veterans of My Lai. Two were good friends and two not such good friends, and I didn't know what their reaction would be if they knew what I was intending to do, so I just didn't tell anybody. About two weeks before I left, I ran into a friend who had been in the unit in Charlie Company. I'd heard from other friends that he had been opposed to what had happened, had seen what was coming and had not participated. He was in a hospital with a terrible case of jungle rot, waiting to go home. I went over to the hospital and we conversed for a while until we sort of decided we were both coming from the same place. We agreed that we would try to get an investigation going, that we would stay in touch, and if they came and asked him questions, that he would tell the truth."

A few weeks later Ridenhour shipped home. He tried to figure out what to do and consulted friends. Most of them told him to forget it, but in the end someone suggested that he write a letter to his local Congressman. Ridenhour decided to write such a letter, detailing what he knew, how he came to know it; to demand an investigation; and to send the letter to a whole lot of people. In December 1968 he had a relapse of malaria. When he got out of the hospital he began to write. The letter took six weeks to complete. Someone proofread it; someone else typed it. Ridenhour made 200 copies and sent out thirty of them on March 29, 1969. One went to his Congressman, Mo Udall, whose office responded almost immediately. Udall's administrative assistant asked permission to circulate the letter to the House Armed Services Committee, of which Udall was a member. Its chair, Mendel Rivers, was requested to demand a Pentagon investigation.

By April 30 the Pentagon, which claims it was acting on receipt of a copy of Ridenhour's letter and not under pressure from Rivers, had appointed an investigating team, headed by a colonel.

"I was in Arizona, waiting to go to school and working in a popsicle factory," Ridenhour said. "They came and interviewed me, and then some of the people I mentioned in the letter—maybe five other soldiers—gave them more names. It sort of bumped and grinded along from late April to September, when they charged Calley. I was convinced there was a cover-up going on, that these guys were not sincere

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in pursuing the business. They stopped accepting my calls. Then they called me and said they had arrested Calley. I waited to see what would happen, and then, when no one else was arrested, I knew what they were going to do. They were going to flush Calley, claim that this was the act of a wild man and then let it go. That's when I started trying to get in touch with the press."

He talked to a man from *The Arizona Republic*. Nothing got published. The Army had put out a brief statement—two paragraphs long—saying that it had charged a lieutenant, Calley, with the murder of an unknown number of civilians. The Associated Press carried the story, but no one picked it up. As Ridenhour tells it, a general who had worked on the Calley investigation became indiscreet at a cocktail party in Washington, let drop details of My Lai and the Calley arrest to Seymour Hersh's brother-in-law, who duly passed on the news. Hersh found the brief item mentioning Calley's arrest and interviewed Calley, who was being held at Fort Benning, Georgia.

Hersh's first story prompted *The Arizona Republic* to print its article, which Hersh, in turn, saw. He flew out to talk to Ridenhour, who gave him the names and addresses of the people who had been at My Lai. Hersh asked Ridenhour to hold the story from anyone else for three days and went about his business. "I was glad to give him the three days," Ridenhour said. "He was the first person to respond. He went off and started finding those other kids, and they told him those horrible stories."

Almost as soon as we started talking Ridenhour wanted to make a point. "The important thing is, this was an act of policy, not an individual aberration. My Lai didn't happen because Lieutenant Calley went berserk. There were similar acts of policy all over the country. I mean, every once in a while they decided they would make an example. If you read about the cover-up, you'll see that above My Lai were helicopters filled with the entire command staff of the brigade, division and task force. All three tiers in the chain of command were literally flying overhead all morning, while it was going on. It takes a long time to kill almost 600 people. It's a dirty job, you might say. These guys were flying overhead from 7:30 in the morning, when the unit first landed and began to move into those hamlets. I think the command units didn't get there till 9 A.M. They were there at least two hours, at 500 feet, 1,000 feet and 1,500 feet.

"So did we learn anything? Yes, we learned to have brown boys pull the trigger instead of good American boys. The policy continues. We continue to make war on civilians across the world. We've got black boys killing black people in Africa. It's our money that's paying for it. That's the lesson the Pentagon, the policy-makers learned. Like I say, a lot of Americans learned, the motherfuckers will do anything."

'If I Had a Rocket Launcher . . . '

After Ridenhour finished, I talked to Kevin Buckley, a correspondent for *Newsweek* in Saigon at the time. Buckley had done a thorough investigation of Speedy Express, finally published in part in *Newsweek* in 1972. "My Lai," Buckley remembered, "was in the spirit of post-Tet. The saying was that the whole country had become a free-fire zone. The soldiers would say that either with relief or disgust, depending on which way their immortal souls were headed."

There was heavy fighting during June and July, when the Democratic convention was going on in Chicago. Candidates were taking out positions on a windup of the war. A peace negotiation in Paris was being envisaged. "Against the possibility of a cease-fire in place," Buckley said, "the pacification program became the Accelerated Pacification Program. They went at it with B-52s, everything. The idea was to create as many 'pro-government' places as possible." In Operation Bold Mariner there was saturation bombing of the Quang Ngai Province, where the survivors of My Lai had been relocated. By the end of 1968 the Ninth Division went into the delta and Speedy Express began.

"At that time the U.S. was stronger than it had ever been. The other side was on the ropes militarily. Tet had cost the N.L.F. its leading cadre. But U.S. policy equated peace with defeat. The idea was to destroy South Vietnam [and North Vietnam up to the 20th parallel]. The bombing ravaged so many things, like farming, timber, rubber, the natural commerce of the place. They attacked the coconut trees. 'The trees are our enemy,' said one American commander at the time.

"Nixon and Kissinger decided to plunge on and 'win' the war. The result of this bloody folly was ignominy, uncounted Cambodians, Indochinese, dead and wounded. In certain areas, Vietnamese who were whole, who had all their limbs, looked strange. Such was the 'application' of U.S. firepower. The war could have ended in 1968 [actually, 1963 if it hadn't been for the United States]. So far as the U.S. was concerned the Vietnam Memorial would have been half as long."

This is the same Kissinger who recently said the uprising in the West Bank and Gaza should be put down, in the words of the memorandum recording his off-the-record session with American Jewish leaders, "brutally and rapidly." This is the same Nixon calling, in the March 13 *New York Times Magazine*, for "resolve" in dealing with Gorbachev. Such was their moral monstrosity, 1969-1974.

Sometimes people ask in a puzzled sort of way why bits of the antiwar movement freaked out in the late 1960s and demonstrated what one could call certain pathological symptoms. I remember reading about accelerated pacification, saturation bombing, strafing, slaughter, day after day after day. It was hard not to freak out. As the man sings, "If I had a rocket launcher, I'd make somebody pay." My Lai remains a symbol, just an intimation of what happened in that destroyed land where they made a desert and had the effrontery to call it defeat, thus requiring that "honor" be retrieved and "resolve" be demonstrated on battlefields elsewhere.

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BELTWAY BANDITS.

DAVID CORN AND JEFFERSON MORLEY

■ The Big One Gets Away

"Charges Don't Point Toward Higher Ups." "Implication Is Reagan Was Unaware Victim." Those headlines rang out in *The Washington Post* after Lawrence Walsh announced the narrowly drawn indictments against Oliver North, John Poindexter, Richard Secord and Albert Hakim. The first count charges the foursome, in effect, with running an illegal war, in violation not only of the Boland amendment but of Reagan's own Executive Order 12333. That order prohibits the National Security Council from conducting covert actions without a presidential directive. The grand jury also hit the four for creating an old-fashioned slush fund and staging a cover-up. Absent from the indictments was any implication that North and Poindexter, far from being renegades running amok, were dutiful servants of their chief. Reagan was a co-conspirator in spirit if not in fact. Remember the May 2, 1986, PROF note, in which Poindexter quotes Reagan as saying, "I am really serious. . . . If we can't move the Contra package before June 9, I want to figure out a way to take action unilaterally to provide assistance." The indictments, which disclose virtually no new information, are preliminary indications that Walsh has run a limited investigation. That's probably reassuring to "victim" Reagan and his understudy, George Bush.

■ West Coast Wedtech?

Two months ago we asked readers to tap their psychic powers and predict the next scandal that would befall the Attorney General. Several responses, though imaginative, were unpublishable, with one involving Tammy Faye Bakker. Another reader wondered if Edwin Meese 3d might have his mitts in the multibillion-dollar Alaska Permanent Fund, which distributes oil revenue to the state's citizenry. But the prize (a year's subscription to the nation's oldest political weekly) goes to George Kirby of San Francisco, who sent us news of a possible real-life Meese scandal that has yet to break into the national media.

In an interview with the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* last month, Robert Hill Jr., the former West Coast director of the U.S. Economic Development Agency, charged that in 1984 Meese pressured him to approve a "totally unqualified" $3 million grant that allowed a millionaire developer to build a luxury residence and business complex in Alameda, California, next-door to Meese's hometown of Oakland. E.D.A. grants are supposed to fight the war on poverty.

There are two catches to Hill's tale, however. First, he says he received his "marching orders" from Meese only indirectly, via the Washington lobbyist for the development and Representative William Clinger, the ranking Republican on the House subcommittee handling the E.D.A. budget. Second, Hill didn't spill the beans until he was well settled in prison, having been convicted of taking a $1,000 "gratuity" from an E.D.A. grant recipient. But credit Hill for coming up with an accusation that, if not proven, at least bears some resemblance to other Meese actions now under investigation.

■ The Biden Proviso

A controversy concerning the intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty is threatening to create a divisive fight among arms control advocates, according to Bruce Auster, a journalist in Washington who reported the story for us. In a memorandum circulating in the Senate, Joseph Biden is making the case for using the popular I.N.F. agreement to score another arms control victory: renunciation of the Administration's "broad" interpretation of the ABM treaty. He is being opposed, ironically, by most arms control groups.

Last year the Administration argued that the ABM treaty—contrary to testimony offered during ratification hearings, in 1972—permits some testing and deployment of weapons in space. The Biden proviso would assert that any treaty must be interpreted according to the mutual understanding reached by the executive and the Senate during ratification.

Leading Republicans, according to Senate aides, have promised to retaliate against Biden. Fearful that his proviso would cripple Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, they say they will offer "killer amendments" to the I.N.F. treaty. Arms control advocates are now urging their traditional allies Biden and Senator Alan Cranston, who supports Biden's effort, not to drag the ABM dispute into the I.N.F. debate. "Arms control is simply too fragile to use as a lever," argues John Isaacs, legislative director of the Council for a Livable World. Isaacs and other disarmament activists believe that legislation passed last year effectively prevents a reinterpretation of the ABM treaty.

David Lewis of Physicians for Social Responsibility is wary of the precedent the Biden proviso might set. "If Democrats attach amendments to the I.N.F. treaty this time around," Lewis warns, "arms control opponents could make life difficult when the next treaty—possibly a more important accord, reducing strategic arms—comes before the Senate during the next Administration."

■ Inflation's Gift to Big Business

In one respect, inflation has been a boon for U.S. businesses. Fines for violating health and safety rules, in real dollars, have decreased, in some cases by more than 50 percent, according to the Consumer Federation of America and the U.S. Public Interest Research Group. For instance, in 1970 the Occupational Safety and Health Act established a $10,000 fine for companies that did not provide a workplace free from serious health hazards. That penalty has remained fixed, making its value now $3,400. In 1972 the illegal dumping of waste into the ocean could cost a business $50,000 a day for each violation. Today, the fine would have to be $138,000 to maintain the same level of punishment.

Recently, Senator Frank Lautenberg introduced legislation that would adjust fines to keep pace with inflation. At a Senate hearing on the measure Administration officials and labor representatives endorsed the general concept. Public interest lobbyists are now awaiting the imaginative response from business trade associations.

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ARTICLES.

A NEW STUDENT LEFT

Beyond the Fragments

VANIA DEL BORGO AND
MARIA MARGARONIS

Reports of the student left's death have been greatly exaggerated. In the past few years, students have challenged their universities as landlords, employers, investors, defense contractors and C.I.A. recruiters; they have protested apartheid in South Africa and imperialism in Central America; they have grappled with racial violence, sexism and homophobia in their communities. But while coalitions have formed and dissolved and some students have involved themselves in larger initiatives like the Rainbow Coalition, most organizing has remained local and fragmented.

The reasons are not difficult to find. Economic hardship and the shrinking labor market have made young people much less willing to take risks; cuts in financial aid have closed off the university to the nonaffluent, reinforcing the divisions of race and class. There has been no major mobilization like the civil rights movement to unite the left, and no convulsive event like the Vietnam War to bring home the pattern of imperialism. Reaganism's assault on the gains of the 1960s and 1970s has kept activists on the defensive and underlined the limitations of protest politics.

It may be claiming too much of the national student convention held at Rutgers University on February 5-7 to see it as a mirror of the movement's strengths and weaknesses. But in the convergence of about 700 activists from 130 state schools and private universities across the country, a good part of the white student left, at least, got a glimpse of its breadth and variety—and was forced to face its limits. The stated goal of the weekend was the formation of a multi-issue, multiracial national student organization to "give expression to a shared consciousness." The orientation materials put together by the Rutgers host committee spoke of a "historic moment" comparable to the meeting at Port Huron in 1962. What happened instead was more like a rite of passage

The defining moment of the weekend came when the conference was almost at its end. On Sunday morning, a twenty-five-member students of color caucus confronted the assembled body with its overwhelming whiteness: Of the several hundred people there, fewer than forty were black, Latino or Asian. Joined by the gay, lesbian and bisexual caucus, the students of color demanded that no constitution be ratified, because the convention was not representative of radical students nationally. While recognizing "the need to examine the real possibilities of a broad-based, racially diverse student movement" and committing themselves to "consulting campus, regional and national student of color organizations to initiate dialogue," they threatened to walk if their demand was not met. To their surprise, their intervention was greeted with a standing ovation—even when one of them pointed out that "not one person here can sit and blame [the Rutgers host committee], because you are all included in the process." After much chaotic discussion and a confused voice vote, the convention suspended all its other work and broke into regional groups to discuss "outreach."

For some activists, Sunday's events were devastating. They felt that they had been railroaded by students of color, that a great opportunity had been wasted, that the substantive matters discussed in Saturday's issue workshops had been glossed over or ignored. But whether out of guilt, exhaustion or political conviction, almost everyone agreed on the importance of facing the race question, and saw that a white national student organization is neither viable nor desirable. The problem is getting beyond good intentions: As the students broke into regional groups, it became clear that few of them had a sense of how to go forward.

The discussions centered on the difference (not always appreciated) between inviting black students to join white-led actions and working across race lines from the start—an old distinction that was impressed on many activists with new urgency during the divestment protests. The students of color also pointed out that while white activists have no trouble protesting U.S. foreign policy and injustice abroad, they are much less ready to understand and address the less glamorous issues of poverty and racism at home. Most whites' definition of what's radical—direct action, protest politics, global critiques of imperialism—implicitly discredits the choice of many black students to work, for example, against financial aid cuts or in Jesse Jackson's campaign.

Sunday's necessary explosion pushed aside other questions that have to be addressed before radical students can claim a shared consciousness. One of those emerged even before the meeting, in the guise of a dispute about the structure of the proposed organization. The Rutgers host committee's more centralized parliamentary plan was vehemently opposed by groups from New England and Berkeley, California, who favored a looser, consensus-driven, "organic" network. As the weekend went on, their independent caucus became a magnet for the assembled company's general resentment and mistrust of the Rutgers committee, drawing participatory democrats, anarchists, direct-action fans, the irritated, the perplexed and those who just wanted a place to exchange ideas. The deeper rift has to do with differing conceptions of democratic process. While some students value autonomy, collective decision-making and spontaneity, others believe that continuity requires leadership and structure. (The collectivists are also much more concerned to exclude sectarian Marxist-Leninist groups.) If students are to act nationally in concert, those tensions must somehow be resolved.

In their zeal to re-create Port Huron, the Rutgers organizers ignored some of the ways in which today's political land-

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scape differs from that of the early 1960s. As a result they alienated members of existing national and regional networks, who complained bitterly about the host committee's arrogance in calling this *the* national student organization. The clarion call to start afresh rang falsely in a room full of radicals already involved in a whole range of grass-roots efforts—often alongside activists beyond the campus. Heated disagreements over the usefulness of 1960s models and mentors also betrayed a deeper uneasiness about the meaning of the past, and about the movement's identity. Many of the institutions spawned by the New Left have survived (if only as mutants) through the Reagan years, and their presence is both a help and a hindrance to this generation of activists.

If the hope of forming a national student organization was premature, the convention at Rutgers did force activists to face the barriers that block their progress. Chastened but not quite demoralized, many of them went home to start the long process of working out how the forces in the movement relate to one another on a smaller scale. In those relations, they may find a blueprint for the larger change they seek. □

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BEYOND VICTORY

Lessons of the Divestment Drive

MATTHEW COUNTRYMAN

The divestment campaigns of 1985 and 1986 rocked America's universities and sent political analysts and "campus watchers" back to their dusty rooms to reassess their profile of the student left as a moribund, largely reactive scattering of unhappy individuals. Those campaigns marked a vibrant movement different in four important ways from every other student organizing effort of the 1980s. First, it attracted previously apolitical students in large numbers. Second, within its contours, black, Third World and white students strove to work together in multiracial coalitions. Third, student divestment activists played a vital role in a broad social movement of national importance. Finally, student power was brought to bear not only on particular boards of trustees but also on the nation at large, altering the public debate on how institutions, corporations and the Reagan Administration should respond to apartheid.

Yet as quickly as student antiapartheid activity emerged as a major social force, it seemed to retreat to its previous status as just another leftist undertaking, of little interest to the majority of students, the media or progressive movements off campus. Campus activism didn't end after the University of California system decided to divest, in July 1986. Students have continued their campaigns on a number of campuses, notably at Johns Hopkins University, where they won an important victory in pressuring Maryland National Bank to stop financing U.S. corporate trade with South Africa and to increase its lending in low-income Baltimore communities. Nonetheless, the movement is in disarray.

Students and national antiapartheid activists have, for the most part, attributed the quieting of divestment activism to the media blackout imposed by the South African government. Clearly the media contributed to the sudden rise of student antiapartheid protests: Scenes on the nightly news of South African Defense Forces attacking unarmed black youths and the well-publicized arrests at the South African Embassy in Washington moved thousands of Americans from moral indignation to direct action. But just as media attention was only one factor leading to the hot spring of 1985, the blackout cannot fully explain why students who were willing to risk arrest and academic suspension as late as the spring of 1986 did not turn out in large numbers for campus rallies by the following fall. Rather, divestment activity ground to a halt largely because of serious organizational and strategic weaknesses in the student movement, weak-

Matthew Countryman works for the Youth Project's Youth Action program, which promotes the involvement of young people in social-change activism.

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nesses closely linked to the very reasons the divestment movement had grown so rapidly just a year and a half earlier.

The call to support the South African freedom struggle came at a difficult time for campus activists. Reagan's landslide re-election had been especially demoralizing, capping four years during which student activists had joined one social movement after another—for the freeze, for solidarity with Central America—that had failed to halt the forward sweep of Reaganism. Thousands of students had worked throughout 1983 and 1984 for Human Serve and other progressive voter registration campaigns. Others held their noses and went to work for Walter Mondale. The humiliation following the defeat of the Mondale campaign was only deepened by the media's fixation, throughout the winter of 1984-85, on the supposed dominance of conservative student activists on U.S. campuses. Into this void stepped the divestment movement.

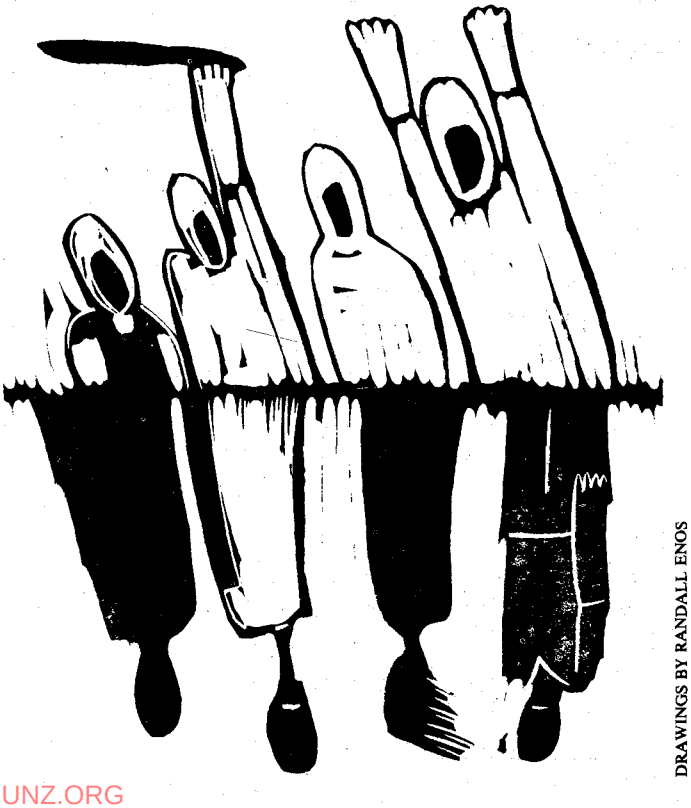
Except for a brief upsurge in the aftermath of the Soweto uprisings, divestment activists had labored in relative obscurity for most of the 1970s and 1980s. But throughout that period they had been building campus organizations and refining their arguments for university divestment, aided in large part by the American Committee on Africa (A.C.O.A.). As a result, the student divestment movement couldn't have been better prepared to respond to the 1984-85 uprising in South Africa. The key to the sudden rise of student antiapartheid protest lay in these activists' ability to convince thousands of previously uninvolved students that actions on campus could have a significant impact on the South African situation. By compelling universities to divest, students could bring moral and economic pressure on U.S. corporations, forcing them to end their support of apartheid, and so greatly aid efforts to isolate the apartheid regime economically. University trustees thus became the primary target.

If, however, the divestment strategy was crucial to the advance of the campus antiapartheid movement, it was also central to its retreat. Organizers had focused so narrowly on divestment that once they had succeeded in getting their universities to divest, they were rarely able to sustain student involvement in antiapartheid or other left activity. This was not fully apparent until the fall of 1986. The flood of corporate withdrawal announcements that September should have led student activists to begin plotting a new course. Coming right on the heels of the University of California's $3 billion divestment—whose very size made other university portfolios seem a pittance—and the passage by Congress of the sanctions bill banning new investment in South Africa, the corporate withdrawals caused many students to think that the divestment movement had achieved its goals: What does it matter whether my campus divests if the big multinationals have already pulled out and Congress has closed the door on new investment?

Antiapartheid groups, as well as the media, heightened this perception by heralding the corporate decisions and the sanctions bill as major victories. Subsequent efforts by the organizations to point out that these were only partial victories got much less attention. Nearly every national group issued a statement warning that most corporations had merely transferred ownership to the managers of their South African subsidiaries and that, with the exception of Eastman Kodak, companies had negotiated exclusive franchising agreements to insure that they could continue marketing their products in South Africa.

Few students heard the message. There were only scattered demonstrations opposing the corporate ploys, and there was no nationally articulated critique. I know of only one attempt by prominent student groups to discuss the impact of the pullouts on divestment organizing. As a staff member of the Democratic Socialists of America Youth Section, I helped organize this meeting, along with Marguerite Fletcher, then the chair of the D.C. Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism. It took place in December 1986, and more than twenty longtime activists attended, including representatives from A.C.O.A., the Progressive Student Network, the National African Youth Student Alliance, New England Students Against Apartheid and the U.S. Student Association. The group agreed to compile informational materials on the pullouts but decided not to call for coordinated student actions to denounce the corporate shell game. Few of us recognized the extent to which the "withdrawals" had undermined the rationale for divestment. Moreover, we felt that since we had not come together as a result of a democratic process, and were therefore neither representative of nor accountable to the mass of activists, we could not claim the legitimacy necessary to set policy for the student movement.

The fundamental question thus becomes, Why hadn't divestment activists come together at some earlier point to choose representatives to develop strategies for the movement? The answer lies in students' fundamental suspicion of



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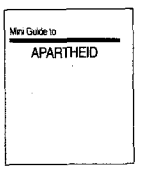

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"national" organizations, in the failure of leading antiapartheid organizations such as TransAfrica and A.C.O.A. to encourage student leadership, and in the collapse of student multiracial coalitions.

For as long as I was a campus activist, students jealously guarded their autonomy and saw any effort to set up regional or national units as an attempt to dictate how they must organize locally. Whether that suspicion is rooted in the sectarian takeovers of student organizations in the 1960s and 1970s, or in the top-down philosophies of established groups, it has seriously limited the long-term political effectiveness of the antiapartheid movement.

Equally damaging was the failure of national antiapartheid groups to nurture whatever impulses there may have been among students to develop responsible, democratically accountable national or regional organizations. Because of limited resources, student attempts in this direction have historically depended on the assistance of organizations outside the university, be they the League for Industrial Democracy or the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. But in the antiapartheid movement there was no Ella Baker to step forward to help students gather the resources or construct the political base needed to unify.

Although A.C.O.A. has had an active student program since 1978, students were not allowed to have a formal role in setting its agenda. The organization sponsored a series of conferences featuring workshops on divestment and the situation in southern Africa, but only rarely did those conventions facilitate discussions on how the student movement might develop a broad strategy for influencing U.S. policy. Generally, they produced little more than resolutions endorsing national days of protest, which while valuable in spreading divestment activism to campuses across the country, did not foster the political or organizational development of the movement. Students did attempt to develop regional networks at A.C.O.A. conferences, but those efforts foundered rapidly, in part because neither A.C.O.A. nor any other movement organization provided the ongoing staff and resource support necessary to establish multicampus coordination.

Even if some sort of democratic process to develop a national strategy had emerged, it is debatable whether such a process could have overcome internal racial tensions. The divestment movement spawned more attempts to build campus multiracial coalitions in eighteen months than had occurred in the previous decade, yet few would argue that it had much success. As black and Third World students, we found ourselves in fundamental disagreement with white students over tactics, agendas and decision-making structures. Although black students at Columbia University and elsewhere had been the first to use civil disobedience in divestment organizing, we were increasingly unable to work with "militant" white activists. The eagerness of many white students to confront police and invite academic discipline seemed to us to spring more from a desire to prove commitment than from a clear conception of how best to mobilize campus and community opposition to university policies.

Black students also became frustrated with white activists'

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apparent indifference toward the problems of racism in the university or in the surrounding community. As black students, we found it impossible to work with those who were willing to challenge racism only from 5,000 miles away. The most difficult question, though, for multiracial divestment coalitions was how to create democratic decision-making structures. Black and Third World students argued that since significant differences in agendas and tactics did exist, it was essential that antiapartheid and antiracism organizing campaigns allow for black and Third World activists to share power equally with whites. We argued that on predominantly white campuses, majority rule or consensus decision-making processes could not provide for equitable power sharing and thus were not democratic. At Yale University we believed, and I think the history of the divestment campaign there proves us right, that without a constituency-based representative steering committee of which students of color made up at least 50 percent, blacks would feel themselves flooded out of the movement by a sea of white faces. But to the majority of white activists, those arguments were fundamentally antidemocratic and simply revealed our desire to control the coalition.

This is not to say that the divestment movement's attempts to develop multiracial coalitions were not fruitful. In the past three years the white student left's understanding of and commitment to the fight for racial justice at home has grown immensely. And all student activists have become much better at constructively confronting racist and supremacist attitudes within our organizations. The roots of antiracism campaigns at the University of California, Berkeley, the University of Michigan and Columbia University, as well as the U.S. Student Association's recent adoption of a national project for the recruitment and retention of minority students, can be traced to the debate started in the divestment movement over how a multiracial student movement should respond to racism in our own backyard.

Still, the internal struggle against racism deprived the movement of much skilled leadership when it was most needed. By the fall of 1986, many black student leaders turned their energies to building black groups to work against racism on their campuses or at the regional and national level. Although few of us abandoned our commitment to multiracial organizing, many of us restricted our involvement to workshops and discussions on whether such coalitions are possible. Our disillusionment struck a death blow to the campus antiapartheid movement.

Over eighteen months the divestment movement achieved more than perhaps any student movement since the Vietnam War era. More significant than the 127 universities that decided to divest was the debunking of the myth that U.S. corporations are a positive force for change in South Africa. Divestment enabled student activists to prove once again that we are capable of standing on an equal footing with other progressive constituencies in campaigns for racial and economic justice. But before the student movement reaches a point where it can sustain a high level of activism over a long period of time, campus activists will have to succeed where those in the divestment movement failed. □

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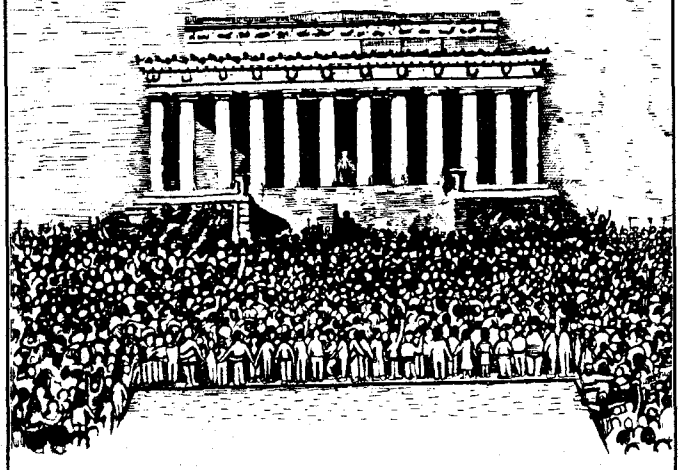

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THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSION

Black Students Fight Back

BARBARA RANSBY

From within the politically diverse black community of the 1980s a discernibly radical young voice has emerged. Organizations such as the United Coalition Against Racism (UCAR) at the University of Michigan, Concerned Black Students (C.B.S.) at Columbia University and Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism (SCAR) at the University of Massachusetts have grown up in response to specific racist incidents; however, they have defined those incidents as symptoms of a deeper, institutional racism. University administrators have thus been challenged to act not only on the immediate threat of racial assaults and harassment but also on often invisible policies of exclusion and discrimination against people of color, in terms of admissions, hiring and curriculums. In their approach students have been explicitly confrontational, adopting tactics—sit-ins, mass rallies, building takeovers—designed to pressure rather than to persuade. This breaks from the "work within the system" attitude that characterized much of black student politics in the late 1970s.

In 1988 three major questions face the antiracist student movement: (1) how to resist and react to escalating, often violent attacks; (2) how to effect concrete changes in university policies; and (3) how to build bridges between campus and community struggles, and with other progressive movements when possible.

Black protests against specific racist incidents have frequently been the sparks that have ignited campuses and forced the issue of racism to the fore of student politics. The sense of crisis at such times often leads liberal and leftist students, white and black, to begin a dialogue on common concerns, heightening the possibility for progressive campus coalitions. That same sense of crisis, however, can lead to a tactical dead end. Once students picket, occupy an office or building, suffer arrest and force administrators to make at least minimal concessions to their demands, there is an inescapable sense of resolution and culmination. For that reason black student organizers must confront the daily manifestations of racism, conduct educational events that expand students' understanding of racism and their commitment to fight against it, and build an organizational infrastructure. We should not focus our activities simply around attacks; on the other hand, we must be prepared when such attacks occur.

Barbara Ransby is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Michigan. She has been involved in the antiracist struggle, on and off campus, for the past twelve years.

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The effort to effect change in university policy has been a more complex and drawn-out affair. Black student leaders across the country have called for increased black enrollment and retention. With substantial cuts from Federal funding of college financial aid programs over the past eight years and a significant decline in black enrollment since the mid-1970s, this demand has become even more urgent. Most college administrators will agree in principle that the university's goal is increased "minority" recruitment, but somehow their commitment never gets translated into reality. Activists sometimes fall into the trap of arguing that there are enough "qualified" blacks out there; university officials are just not looking hard enough. But that misses the fundamental question regarding people of color and higher education: Who defines "qualified" and for what purposes?

It is no coincidence that the black high-school dropout rate is so high and that black unemployment is similarly high. The American labor market would experience a radical disruption if most black and Latino young people had educational opportunities comparable to those of their white middle-class counterparts. Because there are seemingly not enough middle-class comforts to go around—primarily because the upper class has more than its share—a weeding-out process is required to determine who will enjoy such comforts and who will not. The educational system, in large part, facilitates this process, through tracking in elementary schools, standardized testing, competitive grading and high tuition costs.

When we hear talk about increasing the number of "qualified" minority students and being careful not to "lower our standards," we must recognize these as catch phrases of the politics of exclusion. The criteria for determining who will be admitted to colleges and thus be eligible for many of the more desirable jobs in our society are narrow at best. More accurately, they are biased according to race, culture and class. As economists Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis argue in their book *Schooling in Capitalist America*, "By integrating new generations into the social order, the schools are constrained to justify and reproduce inequality rather than correct it."

The politics of exclusion are as much in place in the classrooms of the university as they are in the admissions office. Most major undergraduate curriculums require students to take at least one science course and some additional courses in the humanities and social sciences. Most students graduate, however, with little or no knowledge about Third World countries or the racial and cultural diversity of their own society. Afro-American and Chicano studies courses are seen as "exotic" subjects that a handful of white students might explore after their requirements are filled. Native American studies courses are sadly nonexistent on most campuses. Ideally, survey courses on the American experience would address race and racism and the pivotal role people of color have played in building the American economy and influencing politics and culture.

The third set of issues facing the antiracist student move-

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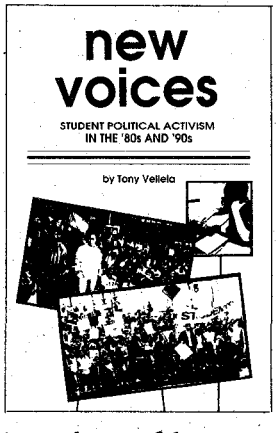

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ment is the relationship between campus and community struggles and the viability of multiracial and multi-issue coalitions. The number of black students attending mainly white colleges has made those campuses important battlegrounds in the war against racism. Nevertheless, students cannot afford to divorce themselves from community struggles. Students can express solidarity with community concerns by arguing that education is a right, not a privilege, and by campaigning to raise the number of black working-class youth who go to college. More practically, students can support community-initiated actions that relate to the university. Black activists at Columbia University have been engaged in protests against the university's efforts to gentrify the Morningside Heights/Harlem community. Last year several students were arrested for obstructing the forced eviction of a Latino family from a Columbia-owned building.

Forming an alliance with campus workers and assisting their projects for greater access to and power within the university is another priority of antiracist student politics, since many service and clerical workers on campus are black. At the University of Michigan, for example, blacks make up more than 27 percent of the work force, as opposed to 5 percent of the student body and 3 percent of the faculty. After several incidents of racial harassment of black maintenance workers there, UCAR formed a worker-student-community solidarity committee to investigate and draw attention to the problem.

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Of final concern to the black student movement is the viability and nature of multiracial and multi-issue coalitions. Although anyone seriously concerned with social change realizes that blacks and whites must work together, as Atlanta activist Keith Jennings observes, "Blacks have been burned so many times [in predominantly white organizations], they are not going to jump into a situation without caution."

One obstacle is the absence of a coherent antiracist analysis in the single-issue campaigns in which most white leftists are involved. An antiracist agenda could conceivably lay the foundation for a broad-based progressive coalition, since racism is an integral part of all the systems of oppression progressive activists are now fighting. However, many white leftists fail to see how racism relates to "their" concerns. This is especially true of that segment of the peace movement that focuses on the threat of a nuclear holocaust as the central issue for progressives, arguing that it affects us all. But to concentrate solely on the dangers of nuclear warfare is to ignore the reality that conventional forces, disproportionately black and Latino, already present the greatest threat to Third World peoples, not to mention the fact that the military has become the employer of last resort for many poor blacks.

The second major obstacle to forming lasting multiracial coalitions is the refusal of many whites, especially men, to accept leadership from blacks and other people of color. When mass protest finally erupts around an issue that blacks have been quietly working on, white activists then join in and challenge the longstanding organizers, or try to impose new issues on the campaign in midstream. This happened again and again in the divestment campaigns, as Matthew Countryman describes on page 406. Black activists will simply not tolerate this type of arrogance. The result: embryonic coalitions and multiracial unity often break down.

Nevertheless, some principled multiracial alliances have been forged on university campuses over the past few years. UCAR at Michigan, the Atlanta and D.C. Student Coalitions Against Apartheid and Racism, and the organizations behind last year's march on Sacramento for education, which involved 7,000 students under the banner "Education is a right, not a privilege," are but a few examples. There have been several national conferences over the past year at which black and other progressive student activists have come together to share strategies, tactics and optimism. The recent five-day occupation of the New Africa House at U-Mass further inspired many students around the country. National publications such as *SCARnews*, *Unity* and bulletins of the Black Student Communication Organizing Network provide an important forum for the growing antiracist movement. In addition, UCAR has recently established the Nelson Mandela–Ella Baker Center for Anti-Racist Education to generate and distribute antiracist literature and contribute to the ongoing effort to make our collective voices heard. Despite the current obstacles and historic tensions there is a basis and a need for multiracial unity in the fight against racism and oppression, and African-Americans must be in the forefront of that struggle. □

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LEGITIMATE OR LIBERATE?

Lesbian and Gay Students Choose

MARK GEVISSER

"The death of a disco dancer, well, it happens a lot 'round here," begins a song off the Smiths' latest album, obliquely referring to AIDS, "and if you think Peace is a common goal, well that goes to show just how little you know." There is a reason why the Smiths, with their blend of morose disenchantment and unrequited longing, are so popular on American campuses, particularly in gay communities. "Love, peace and harmony?" Morrissey asks repeatedly as Johnny Marr's whining guitar wrenches the song higher and higher into the polluted clouds of a heaven of irony. "Oh very nice, very nice, very nice, very nice . . . but maybe in the next world."

Meanwhile, in this world, the combination of AIDS and a conservative decade has presented new challenges for lesbian and gay students. In this environment of increased homophobia, many of them feel that the acceptance they are fighting so hard to gain is being threatened. The agenda these students have chosen as a result is one that focuses on legitimation rather than liberation.

Lesbian and gay students, like most students in the late 1980s, are at college to gain a place in society, not to relinquish the place they already have. Far from rejecting mainstream society, they seem intent on achieving that essentially American goal of cultural assimilation. They want to be upright solid citizens. Openly gay upright solid citizens.

But how, in this culture, to be an upright solid citizen while simultaneously carrying the stigma of belonging to a high-risk group? How to organize lesbian and gay students in the age of AIDS? Gay college groups glean their membership primarily from students who are facing sexuality openly for the first time. Add disease and death to an identity that is already culturally defined as deviant, and the prospect of coming out has become even more daunting. Paradoxically, however, AIDS has forced many students to recognize the absolute necessity of coming out—in terms of support, education and, of course, political power. Natalie Diffloth, a graduate of Wesleyan University, says that when she entered college five years ago there were no more than twenty politically active lesbians and gay men; when she left last year there were more than 150. "I'm tempted to say AIDS had something to do with it," she observes.

The course that lesbian and gay activism is taking seems designed both to face the problems AIDS presents and to accommodate the conservative, pragmatic tenor of today's campuses. Ethan Felson, co-chair of the North East Lesbian and Gay Student Union (NELGSU), the five-year-old umbrella organization of lesbian and gay student groups in the northeast, puts it this way: "We have to return to Jane Doe. Being there for Jane Doe through thick and thin so that she has a place to go. I don't think that getting the entire world to embrace us is a priority. Getting to Jane Doe is priority number one."

Felson refers constantly to human needs taking precedence over political ones. "You must be entrenched socially before you can start being political. You have to be a fixture, otherwise you are branded as political, which is of course a no-no." He goes on to outline his suggestions to gay students wanting to organize: First you need official recognition, then funding, then "human development," by which he means social strength and acceptability. Only then, after going through "that social stage" for a lengthy period of time, does he recommend political activism, which would start with fighting for a nondiscrimination clause.

This focus on social activities, as outlined by Felson, has caused many other progressive activists to brand college gay organizations as apolitical. Feminists and black activists fought for freedom, but for gay students "liberation is too strong a word," according to one NELGSU founder. "I don't think we're necessarily breaking free, we're breaking down people's preconceived ideas."

For lesbian and gay students in the late 1980s, then, that well-worn maxim of the women's movement—the personal is the political—is significantly reapplied. There might well be nothing inherently political in a gay dance, a rap session, a same-sex couple holding hands in the dining hall. But because the freedom to partake in these essentially social activities is systematically denied to lesbian and gay students, striving for their acceptance is as political as holding

Mark Gevisser is a gay activist and writer living in New York City. He graduated from Yale University last May.

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an antiapartheid rally or an anti-C.I.A. sit-in.

In 1980, for example, two gay groups took Georgetown University to court simply because they had been refused a place to meet and the means with which to organize. The university had withheld the charter that would grant them access to a variety of university facilities and to a cut of the student activity fee. After eight years of litigation, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled last November that although Georgetown did not have to "recognize" the groups, it did have to give them equal access to the "tangible benefits" accorded other campus organizations. Georgetown appealed twice to the Supreme Court, which, on January 11 and again on January 25, rejected the university's request to delay the U.S. Court of Appeals' decision. Still being discriminated against by the administration, the students are considering filing an action to hold the university in contempt of court.

Lesbian and gay students at the University of Arkansas are also suing their school, in a trial awaiting decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals in St. Louis. Because of death threats and verbal attacks against lesbian and gay students in 1984, a campus group that had been planning a forum on prejudice decided to include a three-minute segment on homophobia. The university refused to fund any event that included "one word" on gays and lesbians. Later that year gay activists felt compelled to ask the student body for money to organize their own program. The Student Senate, following the precedent of its administration, turned down the $165 requested. "This is a classic case of suppression of speech because of viewpoint," explains the students' counsel, Nan Hunter of the American Civil Liberties Union. "Lesbian and gay students have been singled out for infringement of expressive activities because of the content of their speech."

At both Georgetown and Arkansas the denial of the right to the simplest social freedoms prompted aggressive political action. At Georgetown, students and community activists pressured the District of Columbia into refusing the university a grant of more than $200 million in low-interest revenue bonds because its policy contravened the District's antidiscrimination laws.

Perhaps one of the nastiest side-effects of the AIDS epidemic has been discrimination against members of high-risk groups, and students are beginning to confront this issue as well. At the very conservative Durham campus of the University of New Hampshire, for example, they are organizing in defense of a gay couple who work at the university and are being hounded off campus because one of them has AIDS.

The group's first task, says Jim Kiely of U.N.H.'s Student Action Committee, is "to foster an atmosphere in which AIDS is spoken about freely." Kiely explains that such education must precede a more militant activism: "If and when it comes down to occupying a building or having a large demonstration, people will then realize what we are doing. Until that first step of making AIDS a public issue on campus is taken, though, the switchover to activism on a broad base will be very difficult to achieve." On campuses across the country activists are taking the same approach, initiating AIDS education programs, support groups and task forces to broach the topics of sex and infection with the candor necessary to stem the spread of the disease.

But the growth of the gay movement on campus can be only partially explained by the advent of AIDS. As important is the decision by activists to set simple "acceptance," not unconditional liberation, as their goal. This agenda is not only reasonable and attainable but it bolsters the movement by attracting those who wish to be both openly gay and "straight-acting."

One has to respect the logic, the sheer pragmatism, of the gay student who told me that he became politically active when he realized that he looked straight: "What better person to teach straight people than someone who is straight-acting?" And one has to respect, so much more, the plethora of gay and lesbian activists who are going to law school—not to make millions working for corporate law firms but because, they say, they can effect real change only by knowing the law.

Today's gay and lesbian student leaders don the dark blue suits and ties, the pencil-skirts of the respectability many of them want, when going to speak to their universities' administrations. They claim that if they ask for too much, they will be granted nothing. Such pragmatism, such cynicism, while obtaining results, cannot but activate the soulless dejection so painfully articulated by the Smiths.

The antidote to such dejection is to comprehend the larger scope of the struggle; to realize that a crevasse of tolerance within the gothic monolith of academia is but a first step. Lesbian and gay students will graduate sometime in the next four years and will move to an urban metropolis to be confronted by a full-blown epidemic, or to a small town to be confronted by bigotry the likes of which simply does not exist in most colleges. Just as an older generation of gay people has realized that mainstream society's apparent acceptance of its ghettos in the 1970s was a mirage that dissipated with the advent of AIDS, gay and lesbian students must realize that mere tolerance is not enough. For once we accept that salvation comes in the form of a contract with straight society, we set narrowly self-serving goals that divorce us from the larger battle. As Elvis Costello says, "What's so funny about peace, love and understanding?" □

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"A LIVING TOMB!"*

A report on the High Security Unit for Women, at the Federal Correctional Institution, Lexington, Kentucky, and the new political prison planned for Marianna, Florida.

"A novel category of political prisoner has been established by administrative fiat. A new kind of prison is being prepared to deal with this new category of offender." *—Report of the National Prison Project, American Civil Liberties Union, August 25, 1987*

A BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION CONTROL UNIT FOR WOMEN

The High Security Unit for Women at the Lexington Federal Correctional Institution is the first of its kind in the Federal prison system. **It is an isolation and behavior modification control unit for women!**

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Ms. Torres, Ms. Rosenberg and Ms. Baraldini have been told they are there because of their political affiliations. Though they are serving terms of 35, 58 and 43 years respectively, they are **not** in prison for any violent crimes. Prior to their transfer they had experienced no problems within the prison system and had normal records. **Yet it has been made clear to them that they can expect to live under these conditions for the remainder of their sentences, unless they are willing to renounce their political associations.**

A NEW, LARGER UNIT IS PLANNED!

After protests from the ACLU, the General Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, Amnesty International, members of Congress and others, the Bureau of Prisons announced that it was planning to close the unit. **But then it was learned that another, even larger prison for women is being built within the men's prison at Marianna, Florida. It will house from 150 to 200 more women under similar conditions!**

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- Denial of medical care. Crucial medical needs ignored and aggravated. Bladder infections go untreated. Vision problems caused by 24-hour fluorescent lighting are ignored. One woman's cardiac condition has worsened; another hospitalized because of weakened health condition. All suffer digestive problems and severe weight loss.

"The General Board of Global Ministries team was told by the warden that behavior, bad or good, has no relationship to a woman's assignment to the High Security Unit or her chances of leaving it. . . . The five women currently in HSU should not be allowed to remain there. Additional months of isolation may have irreversible and devastating effects." *—Report of General Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church, September 1987*

"The officials who imposed this limitation are not unsophisticated, illiterate provincials in some penological backwater. They are nothing if not carefully deliberate, in every detail. They know what they are doing, and why they are doing it. . . . Cosmetic changes will not alter the reality of this unit, as it was designed and operates. **It is a living tomb* for the women who are assigned to it."** *—The ACLU Report.*

WHY, while we show concern for human rights throughout the world, is the Justice Department building an even larger political prison in Marianna, Florida, to house 200 more women—even as it denies the existence of political prisons in the United States?

HELP THE LEGAL BATTLE TO WIN HUMANE TREATMENT FOR THESE WOMEN! • STOP THE BUILDING OF AN EVEN LARGER POLITICAL CONTROL PRISON! • Tax deductible contributions should be made out to IFCO (Inter-Faith Council) and marked "For the Lexington Campaign." Mail to: **National Campaign to Abolish the Lexington Women's Control Unit, 294 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11201.**

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C.I.A. OFF CAMPUS

Closing the Company Store

ERIC JOSELYN

As if the Company didn't have enough trouble lately—with military failure in Central America, defections from its masquerade United Nicaraguan Opposition and lines of cocaine running from drug kingpins in Colombia to "freedom fighters" in Honduras—now it's encountering some serious domestic resistance. Over the past several years protests against the Central Intelligence Agency's recruitment on college campuses have evolved from sporadic outbursts to regular, coordinated actions. Like the divestment campaign, the anti-C.I.A. movement draws its strength from the convergence of a political target of international dimensions, the demonstrable complicity of academia with official U.S. policy, and a local arena in which to raise winnable demands. Across America those demands have been stark: C.I.A. off campus, no recruiting, no ties to faculty.

Explicit also is a direct challenge to university authority, since school administrators have generously accommodated the needs of the agency. Campus career placement offices advertise recruiters' visits, reserve meeting rooms, schedule appointments, conduct preliminary screening of applicants and weed out potential protesters disguised in pinstripes. They publicly defend the agency's "right" to recruit and provide security to insure that interviews proceed as scheduled, sometimes working with city and state police to prevent disruptions. All of this, with few exceptions, the university offers free of charge.

In addition, colleges have for years lent their facilities for C.I.A.-financed and -directed projects. The agency's research into mind-control drugs, wiretapping and psychological warfare is well known, as are some of its best friends among faculty. Three years ago, Nadav Safran, then director of Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Studies, received $45,700 from the C.I.A. for a university conference on Islamic fundamentalism. After *The Harvard Crimson* broke the story, there was embarrassment all around—not because Safran had taken the money (university administrators already knew of his C.I.A. contract work, including a book that he prepared with an assist of $107,430) but because, in this instance, he hadn't reported it. In the end Safran was merely demoted, and Harvard made no changes in policy, content in the knowledge that proper disclosure procedures were being followed, for example, by Samuel (Mad Dog) Huntington, director of the university's Center for International Affairs.

Less publicized was a 1984 incident at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, in which Richard Mansbach, chair of the political science department, and Harvey Waterman, department professor and associate dean of the Graduate School, hired students and used an undergraduate course to supply the C.I.A. with extensive research on Western European peace groups, unions, opposition parties, churches and women's organizations. *The Medium*, an undergraduate newspaper which picked up on the story from *Counterspy*, reported that Mansbach had a history of cooperation with the agency and had received a grant of at least $20,000 for the European Non-State Action Projects. For failing to inform the university of their government work and for enlisting unwitting student researchers, Mansbach and Waterman received letters of reprimand, deposited in their permanent files. No other action was taken.

Most recently, at least five universities have agreed to participate in the C.I.A.'s Officer-in-Residence Program, under which an active agent serves as a lecturer or guest speaker in regular classes. Harvard, Georgetown and George Washington universities, as well as the University of Texas, Austin, have all signed on for the program, as has the University of California, Santa Barbara, where the appointment of agent George Chritton Jr. met with angry opposition last fall [see Jon Wiener, "The C.I.A. Goes Back to College," *The Nation*, December 12, 1987].

Against these intrusions into academic life, students at more than seventy colleges and universities have organized energetically: physically barring recruiters from campus, disrupting interview sessions, taunting C.I.A. representatives, holding sit-ins and demonstrations to protest university decisions and, as part of a broad educational campaign, packing auditoriums to hear Philip Agee, John Stockwell and other former agents describe the lurid world of the C.I.A.

Students have thus placed their administrations in a most uncomfortable position. Unlike the drive for divestment, the call for an end to university involvement with the C.I.A. does not lend itself well to trustee review committees, study panels or other engage-and-deflect strategies (best exemplified by the Sullivan principles). To question the legitimacy of the business conducted by the C.I.A. and its faculty collaborators is to challenge the university in those areas where administrations have always claimed an exclusive right: hiring, firing, allocation of funds and facilities, cooperation with government and other institutions. Also, whereas the divestment movement could at least depend on virtually unanimous abhorrence of apartheid, university administrators and trustees rarely think that there is anything inherently wrong in the agency's work.

Nor does the nature and uncompromising tone of many of the protests leave administrators much room to maneuver. Since 1985, when great numbers of students rose up on this issue in Boulder, Ann Arbor and at Brown University, there have been more than a thousand arrests related to anti-C.I.A. protests.

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The high stakes for the universities and the militancy of the opposition have led school after school to react to students' confrontations of C.I.A. recruiters with confrontations of their own. Looking out at a protest of more than a thousand, officials at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, called the state police to the campus for the first time in seventeen years. The police arrived dressed in full riot gear, carrying batons and leading attack dogs. At the University of Minnesota, students were sprayed with mace for almost an hour while trying to push their way into a building where recruitment interviews were taking place. They smashed the building's door, at which point many were arrested and a few roughed up by police. One anti-C.I.A. protester at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, who was charged with assaulting a police officer is seeking redress on the ground that he himself was assaulted by police.

The aftermath of such clashes has often entailed the bringing of criminal charges. At the University of Colorado, Boulder, 435 students were charged with criminal trespass in the course of a weeklong demonstration. Generally, however, administrators have responded by forcibly stifling anti-C.I.A. activities, most commonly through the selective harassment of so-called "ringleaders." At U-Mass thirteen such leaders were slapped with a restraining order barring them from campus except to attend classes. At Minnesota three prominent activists were picked out of an unruly demonstration of 700 people and charged with felonies.

For students a threat greater than criminal proceedings is the "due process" that awaits them in the university's home court, the internal disciplinary system. There, violations of conduct codes are typically defined as any action that disrupts the normal operation of the university. Activists face a variety of sanctions, ranging from community service to expulsion.

Some students have therefore devised counterstrategies. To block recruitment at Brown, activists began to import students from groups doing anti-C.I.A. work on other campuses in New England. These outside sympathizers are immune from university sanction. Last December, at a major protest following a disciplinary crackdown on students at Brown, officials declined to send in police against the visiting demonstrators.

Overall, the anti-C.I.A. movement has effectively harassed agency representatives and university officials. This year the agency was forced to change its recruitment plans at many schools, among them Boulder; U-Mass; U.T., Austin; University of Iowa; University of Minnesota; University of Michigan; and University of Wisconsin, Madison. Under student pressure Brandeis; the State University of New York, Albany; Brown; and the University of Vermont asked the agency to postpone recruitment sessions until they had reviewed or refined their policies. Those refinements did not result in the agency's being thrown off campus. As everywhere, that is the long-term goal. What the movement has done brilliantly is to train a light on the activities of the C.I.A., both local and international, and to compel the university to engage students over the issue.

For the most part school officials try to limit their debate with protesters to discussions of student behavior. When forced to address the source of the conflict—the presence of agents on the faculty or of C.I.A. recruiters—they have time and again invoked the principles of academic freedom and free speech. Most activists have offered incisive retorts to those arguments. As Mark Kennen at the University of Massachusetts said:

> Recruitment is not speech; it is business. If the C.I.A. wanted to send a representative to speak and answer questions at an open meeting of the student community, we would support that. But in fact, they want to come and recruit students behind closed doors. That is not speech defended by the First Amendment, but business defended by school policy.

Particularly ludicrous is the resort to free speech to defend an institution that violates free expression around the world. In essence these schools are saying they won't regulate business activities—in this case, employee recruitment—on their campuses, although, as any student group that has tried to hold a bake sale knows, universities have myriad guidelines governing business transactions. Not the least of those guidelines concerns equal opportunity in employment. In Iowa, Wisconsin and elsewhere students have taken legal action against the famously anti-gay agency for its flagrant violations of the nondiscrimination provisions in hiring codes. They have pointed out the contradiction between the university's standards in this area and the agency's practices. But few organizers endorse that approach. "We don't want to make the statement that if you hire equally then you're O.K.," said Chester Wilson of U.T., Austin.

Wilson's remark suggests one of the strategic differences among loosely affiliated oppositionists to the C.I.A. As the

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opposition itself has grown in sophistication and developed into a movement, such differences have inevitably become more pronounced, with some students saying that the anti-C.I.A. campaign appeals only to radicals. Liberals in particular, reacting strongly whenever the specter of censorship is raised, have distanced themselves from the simple demand, C.I.A. off campus.

The questions posed by the campaign profoundly challenge current U.S. foreign and military practice, and the radical nature of those questions has caused some to withdraw support. But most successful campus movements run a similar course. As divestment activists deepened their understanding, many adopted an anti-imperialist analysis of U.S. policy in southern Africa. This "cost" the movement some liberal participants, as did the shift in focus to domestic racism. However, each of those changes also opened the possibility of significant new bases of support. It is a measure of the potency of the demand to end university-C.I.A. ties that those organizers who have stressed coalition building have been able to enter into effective relationships with Latino groups, gay and lesbian rights advocates, solidarity workers, black activists and religious people.

Furthermore, the charge that as the movement pushes harder it faces isolation relates primarily to tactics, not demands. It is heard most often when groups consciously emphasize confrontation. As the war against the people of Central America has intensified under Reagan, many solidarity organizations on campus have focused on educational efforts, sometimes to the exclusion of direct action. A purely informational strategy, however, has its own problems in reaching broader sections of the campus. Teach-ins, speakers and films often draw the already converted. The tactics of confrontation can transform the "complaints of a few radicals" into a significant social question, requiring each student to decide where he or she stands.

Of course, the demand to banish the C.I.A. from American colleges and universities has its limits, as is becoming clear in places where the agency has moved its recruitment operations just off campus. No one expects that targeting recruiters will bring the agency to its knees, just as no one views barring the agency from campus as a final goal. Rather, anti-C.I.A. activism should be seen as a strategic choice within the broader movement against U.S. intervention in Central America. In that context, the significance of this latest upsurge against the C.I.A. lies in its potential to return the student movement to a prominent position among the forces opposing U.S. imperialism.

The growing number of protests (watch the news from campus this spring) clearly shows that many students are ready to strike a blow against criminal policies and the criminals. On April 23 to 25 there will be a mass mobilization in Boston (for more information call 617-247-7937). This will come a year after hundreds of students joined in the closing down of C.I.A. headquarters in Langley, Virginia. The plan to target Langley had been drafted in Managua, by fifty-four students from more than forty U.S. campuses who

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were participating in the first Student Harvest Brigade. The line of cars backed up miles down the freeway trying to get into the C.I.A. compound that day heard the same message as the scores of prospective recruits barred from their appointments at a university career placement office by a mob of protesters out front: "Hey, hey, C.I.A., you're not going to work today." □

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

How Political Is the Personal?

L.A. KAUFFMAN

The feminist movement on college campuses typifies the uneasy state of student politics in the 1980s. Like other social movements born of the New Left's disintegration in the years following 1968, the feminist movement has adopted a politics of identity, a conception of political change as a goal to be pursued at both the personal and the societal level. On the private side of the personal-is-political equation, feminists have explored women's culture and organized consciousness-raising and discussion groups through campus women's centers. Like many forms of the politics of identity, these activities fall short of being directly political—that is, they do not aim to transform the institutionalized structures of power. Campus feminists have of course periodically addressed national issues, such as the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights and pay equity. They have also pushed for the creation of women's studies programs and the hiring of female faculty. But between the distant world of national issues and the immediate project of self-transformation, there has too often been a vacuum, one that might properly be filled by feminist organizing projects. The result has been a substantial depoliticization of feminism and a tendency to allow, if not entreat, the university to control matters of feminist concern.

The most visible feminist organizing on college campuses in recent years has centered on the issue of sexual harassment. As a 1982-85 investigation by *Ms.* and other studies have shown, about 15 percent of women at American colleges and universities have been raped. More than half experience some form of sexual harassment during their academic career, ranging from verbal abuse to unwanted sexual contact, assault or rape. Between 20 and 25 percent are sexually propositioned or harassed by their professors.

When sexual harassment first surfaced as a campus issue, in the mid-1970s, feminist students defined it primarily as an abuse of institutionally conferred authority. In the classic case, a faculty member demanded sexual favors from a student in exchange for grades—a kind of quid pro quo harassment. Unwanted advances by faculty members and other offensive behavior that emphasized a woman's sexuality were also singled out. This conception of sexual harassment provided a solid basis for fighting institutionalized sexism. Five Yale University women who reported having been harassed by faculty members filed a lawsuit against the school in 1977, charging that by failing to adopt procedures to deal with sexual harassment the university had condoned it. Making a similar argument, feminists at the University of California, Berkeley, organized in 1979 to protest the administration's refusal to act on thirteen complaints of sexual harassment brought against a single professor.

That kind of opposition, as well as the threat of legal liability implicit in the Supreme Court's 1986 ruling, in *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, that institutions are responsible for sexual harassment by employees, has prompted hundreds of schools to condemn this type of sexual harassment and to declare faculty-student sexual relations to be unethical. But in formulating actual policies on the issue, universities have predictably resisted student involvement. Diane Goldsmith, assistant director of the University of Connecticut Women's Center, says, "At most places I know, the leadership on [faculty-to-student] sexual harassment in recent years has been taken by the universities' professional staff rather than students." For example, once feminists compelled Berkeley to act on sexual harassment, the university appointed a Title IX facilitator to address the problem and never even consulted the women's group.

As official policies against faculty-to-student harassment have become more common, some activists have focused on another, previously hidden though prevalent form of violence against college women: peer-to-peer harassment. At its most serious this involves date and acquaintance rape—forced sexual intercourse with a man whom the woman knows. Nationally, the majority of these rape victims are between 15 and 25 years old. It also includes the kind of sexist behavior and manhandling that typify fraternity parties and similar social occasions.

In contrast to faculty-to-student harassment, however, the university provides only the setting, and not the structure, of peer-to-peer harassment, which reflects the broader incidence of violence against women throughout American society. Some feminists working on this issue have tackled it chiefly through educational programs directed at fellow students. Groups like Students Against Sexual Assault at Montana State University and Campus Organized Against Rape at the University of Florida have developed presentations over the past five years on sexual harassment and rape. At the University of Maryland and at Carleton College in Minnesota feminists have conducted mock date-rape trials to dramatize aspects of the problem, particularly the common "perception gap" between women who assert they were physically forced to have intercourse and men who claim it was merely "casual sex."

Other feminist activists, meanwhile, have chosen to oppose peer-to-peer harassment with strategies and arguments mirroring those that their predecessors used in countering

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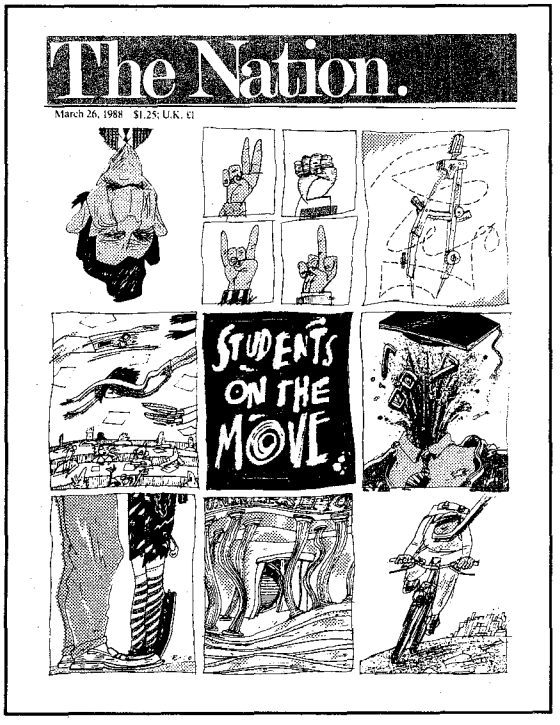

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harassment by faculty members. Theirs is partly a tactical decision to marshal the institutional resources and power of the university as weapons against sexual harassment, rather than to rely on independent activist-based organizing efforts, such as student-run campus patrols, self-defense courses and explicitly feminist education projects. These feminists claim that academic institutions are morally and perhaps legally obliged to curb violence committed by one student against another.

By appealing to university administrations to develop comprehensive policies on peer-to-peer harassment, and to disciplinary boards to proscribe and punish the harassment of students by students, these women have, perhaps unwittingly, invoked the old doctrine of ***in loco parentis***, the principle that administrations should regulate the lives of students outside the classroom. In a 1985 protest against documented sexual harassment at two fraternities, feminists at Brown University called on the administration to "take responsibility for the perpetuation of physical and verbal violence against women," insisting that the disciplinary board impose strong penalties for peer-to-peer harassment. Sometimes the demands go further. Last year Princeton University feminists campaigned for the establishment of a "social honor code" for all undergraduates, envisioned by activists as a means of educating students about sexual harassment but likely to be implemented by the university without substantive feminist input.

There is no small amount of irony here, for the kinds of administrative controls over student life now demanded by these activists are similar to those that students of the 1960s fought against. In virtually every case, the benefits of the programs are undermined by the university paternalism that accompanies them. Furthermore, the legalistic and individualistic approach to the problem taken by most university programs utterly ignores the broader social components of violence against women—the very thing that gives the feminist understanding of sexual harassment its critical, and political, power.

The campus movement to combat sexual harassment has made some important gains, securing widespread recognition of a once invisible problem, forcing universities to condemn violence against women and provide support groups and services to help women through the experience of abuse. But many feminists have an exaggerated faith in the progressive potential of the university as institution. "It's the responsibility of the university to foster community among students," says one Princeton feminist. "Students have to feel that the university is validating their lives." By according too little value to student-run efforts and too much to university resources, these feminists have obtained narrow reforms at the cost of extending university control over student lives—empowering the institution, not women. If campus feminists concerned with sexual harassment are to transcend these limitations and work for self-empowerment, they must develop a radical politics that neither substitutes individual transformation for structural change nor places more faith in the power of institutions than in the value of political organizing. □

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SIXTYSOMETHING

Looking Back, Moving Ahead

JON WIENER

A debate over the meaning of the 1960s rages in the new student movement. For Amy Eppler, a 1986 Yale Law School graduate, the 1960s provide an alternative point of reference for activists in a yuppie world. "It's important for us to see ourselves not as part of the 'me generation' but as connected to the past. I'm proud to be part of a continuum with earlier activists," she said. "And we've learned from the past. The Yale divestment movement today is not just made up of students: Unionized employees and community members are working with students to fight the university's South Africa policy. What we are doing at Yale today is better than what happened here in the sixties."

This desire for continuity—expressed graphically three years ago by 400 pro-divestment students at U.C.L.A. who arranged a special screening of *The War at Home*, the 1979 antiwar documentary, while occupying the administration building one night—is a mark of how the current student movement diverges from its precursor. "The film made us feel that we're part of the same struggle," said Carla Zeitlin, a participant. But what made the New Left new, largely, was its break with the elders. In 1962 Students for a Democratic Society was officially the youth organization of the League for Industrial Democracy. After the Port Huron convention, the board of the L.I.D. attacked the kids, fired S.D.S. president Tom Hayden and decided to censor all S.D.S. materials. Shortly before, Irving Howe and Lewis Coser had condemned the nascent New Left in the pages of *Dissent*. When Richard Flacks brought the news of Port Huron to Leo Huberman of *Monthly Review*, Huberman told him, "It's much more important whether Fidel Castro can defend his revolution than whether American youth think anything." S.D.S. founders reacted by sharpening their sense of themselves as a "new" left.

Today's student activists do not face that kind of opposition from their New Left elders. On the contrary, they see themselves and are seen as a part of the same tradition. In particular, the students at Rutgers University who helped plan the national student convention in February sought the advice of veterans. John Grele said: "Our ties to sixties activists are an important resource for us. They have helped us greatly. Personally, I've gotten the most out of talking with Mark Rudd, Al and Barbara Haber and Abbie Hoffman."

Christine Kelly added: "The sixties people who have been most helpful to us have offered advice, but they respect our autonomy. They are there when we need them, but they aren't interfering if they aren't asked. We've been impressed with their support. Abbie has been good. Barbara Ehrenreich has been really enthusiastic from the beginning."

The Rutgers students have done some serious thinking about what they can learn from the 1960s, mainly from the collapse of S.D.S. "The New Left's candor and openness set a model for us," said Jonathan Stein, another student who worked on the convention. "We hope to avoid the pitfalls that befell them, especially sectarianism."

Kelly agreed. "The sectarians won out in S.D.S. in the late sixties because they were the hardest workers," she commented. "We have to develop our theoretical and historical understanding, but we have to focus on the hard work of building a movement, of developing a generation of activists. Abbie Hoffman has prodded us in this direction. The way to defeat the sectarians is to work harder than they do."

She pointed to another lesson current activists have learned. "The women are not going to be making the coffee this time around," she said. "The biggest difference has been the women's movement. We have women in leadership positions."

But the legacy of the past—and the eager help of aging S.D.S.ers—can be a burden as well as a benefit to young activists. "For us, the sixties are an overwhelming presence that can't be escaped," said a Princeton student who worked in the divestment movement and on the campus *Progressive Review*. "The prevailing conception of the sixties constrains our ability to do politics now. We're told we're a remnant of something that was once great. We're told we are trying to re-create the past, which is impossible. We are asking ourselves, How is it possible for us to develop our own definitions, instead of being absorbed within this older conception?"

Other activists I interviewed felt the same way. "We have a media-created burden of comparing ourselves to the six-

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ties," said a leader of the antiapartheid movement at Yale. "Our actions are constantly measured against them. Before the arrests here over divestment, I thought my generation could never match the sixties. In the sixties, students led the progressive movement. That's no longer true in the peace movement or in the movement concerned with Central America. But Cornell had 1,100 arrests in 1985. Nothing like that happened there in the sixties. For the first time it made me think that maybe we could do it; maybe students could lead the country away from supporting the South African government."

Still others resented being asked to compare the two eras. Another Yale activist, Nathan Light, said: "The administration here is thinking about the sixties. We aren't." His classmate Jennifer Yardley said: "How do we really compare with sixties campus movements? We're totally nonviolent; that's different. We use the tactics of civil disobedience and confrontation; that's similar. But what's the point of comparing the two?"

Beyond the weight of left tradition, today's activists confront media images of that earlier radicalism as something essentially useless and self-indulgent. "I hear people saying very little was accomplished," observed Julian Fischer, a student at the Oakwood School, in North Hollywood, California. "John Cougar Mellencamp said on an MTV interview that the sixties was a dishonest time. He said, 'We screamed a lot, but really all we did was get stoned.'" *The Big Chill* presented another version of the myth.

Another difference between the generations is that in many respects the culture that emerged two decades ago is still alive. New Leftists rejected more than the politics of their elders; they also rejected the life style—in favor of sex, drugs and rock and roll. In American culture, and even in middle age, New Leftists remain on the same side of it as today's students.

It's more than a matter of the revival of miniskirts and the color chartreuse. The music is still popular. The Beatles' version of "Twist and Shout" was on the charts recently—as heard in the film *Ferris Bueller's Day Off*. A student at John Jay College in New York City told historian Mike Wallace he wished he had been older in the 1960s, "so I could have heard the Grateful Dead in three decades, not just two." Paul Simon and Stevie Wonder sell records to a new generation. Rock is no longer the palace of the young; its fans range in age from 15 to 55.

Some left-wing students explicitly identify with the 1960s counterculture. At Purdue University in West Lafayette, Indiana, guys with shoulder-length hair wearing tie-dyed T-shirts are militantly anti-Reagan. They won't listen to Prince or Bruce Springsteen; for them no one has ever surpassed Jimi Hendrix. For other self-styled hippies, the embrace of an earlier era extends to its drugs of choice. At Princeton and elsewhere they reject cocaine as a "yuppie performance drug" in favor of marijuana and LSD.

Thus, today's student activists must grapple with their relationship to the culture of the 1960s as well as its politics. In both spheres, the challenge is to learn from and be inspired by the previous generation while finding their own identity and direction. □

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DO SAY . . .

What's the Matter Here?

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

To hell with the s****** and the passion for decanting the past out of ten-year measuring jars. The sixties really began back in 54, when Nero first assumed the imperial purple, thanks to mother's schemes. These were the glory days of *terra nova* and new frontiers, of fresh dreams after the deliquescent Claudian twilight. From the squint focus of the here-and-now, students, passive and scared under the brutish thumb of Domitian, look back on the last of the Julio-Claudian line with a nostalgia not entirely deserved.

True, the arts flowered. Those not privileged to enjoy the tremendous revels of Nero's "second inaugural" in 59 will never know the sweetness of life. True, too, that the Emperor's Great Society programs, introduced in the panicky days after the Boadicea scare and the great fire of 64, introduced a whole generation to visionary notions of social justice. True, finally, that Nero responded firmly to the encroachments into the public realm of the "new evangelists" and secured peace for half a century after settling the Armenian question with his summit meeting with Tiridates in the long and very hot summer of 66. But there was an underside to Nero's principate, and those who spend this year of 88 in a rosy midlife reminiscence should not be allowed to forget the fact. Bread and circuses disguised a darker truth.

In '68 the winter flies crawled up the windowpanes of our *New Left Review* office on Carlisle Street, just off Soho Square. Across from me a man wrote: "Our waning imperial system needs its combination of bread and circuses to retain the support of the population. In late capitalist society the fetishized commodity and the spectacle conveniently answer this need. In helping to alleviate the curse of over-production the spectacle brings into existence a motley retinue of its own." Then, as then, as now. This was from the pen of my friend Robin Blackburn, helping me brisk up the introduction to our Penguin anthology, *Student Power*.

I looked at the introduction again: "It is now commonplace that the advanced capitalist countries are moving beyond the first stage of industrial mass production. . . . In economic terms the problem which faces each capitalist society is how to absorb most profitably the surplus productive capacity which the process of capital accumulation throws up without undermining the value of existing capital." As you can see, we'd been reading *Monopoly Capital* and its retooling of our old friend the falling rate of profit, as defined by Uncle Karl, who had lived for a while round the corner, above Leone's Restaurant in Dean Street.

Eight thousand miles to our east, Vietnamese peasants were absorbing America's surplus productive capacity in the U.S. killing orgies known as the Accelerated Pacification Program. Later, Kevin Buckley of *Newsweek* described the pacification of Kien Hoa, in which some 5,000 noncombatants were slaughtered:

> The Ninth Division put all it had into the operation. Eight thousand infantrymen scoured the heavily populated countryside, but contact with the elusive enemy was rare. Thus, in its pursuit of pacification, the division relied heavily on its 50 artillery pieces, 50 helicopters (many armed with rockets and mini-guns) and the deadly support lent by the Air Force. There were 3,381 tactical air strikes by fighter bombers during 'Speedy Express'. . . . "Death is our business and business is good," was the slogan painted on one helicopter unit's quarters during the operation.

The U.S. Army even deduced a P.K.H., or peak killing hour, when maximum slaughter could most efficiently be achieved. It was the time when residents were going home from work.

They never did get to fix the falling rate of profit, and so here we are, twenty years further along in the crisis of late capitalism, gazing at the same old bottom line, which is, in this particular forum, the role students can play in discommoding the capitalist system's capacity to reproduce itself at the institutional and ideological level.

The Commodification of More or Less Everything

Twenty years further into the crisis of late capitalism. . . . Although most people didn't realize it, the long postwar boom crested a couple of years before the analysts at MACV in Saigon figured out the P.K.H. for the delta. The long slide downward had begun, even though the American working class, or at least the white, organized sectors of it, still looked for the rising tide that raised all boats, gave them their cut of the action. It's hard to make common cause, forge anti-imperial, anticapitalist coalitions with people who think the system is still bringing home the bacon. The economy whose decline helped bring Jesse Jackson 36 percent of all union households voting on Super Tuesday and slabs of white support in Virginia, Vermont, Maine, Minnesota and Alaska, was, back then, only beginning to assume its present bell-jar shape.

As Roger Burbach and Orlando Nuñéz write in *Fire in the Americas: Forging a Revolutionary Agenda* (1987):

> Exploitation in both developed and underdeveloped capitalist societies has now reached the stage where it affects a wide array of social groups ranging from women and ethnic minorities to youth, Christians, the elderly and the middle classes. In the underdeveloped countries, the rural-urban migration combined with the lack of employment opportunities creates an explosive population of urban poor. All these groups not only experience direct and/or indirect economic exploitation—their entire existence is stunted; fundamental values such as culture, love, pleasure and moral decency are destroyed by capitalism's relentless drive to turn everything into a commodity for profit only. . . . No revolution is possible without the working class. . . . [but] the ubiquity of exploitation, combined with new potentials for liberation, have been central in creating a third social force comprised of the middle class intellectuals, progressive Christians, and the social movements (feminists, ethnic and minority movements, gays, etc.).

"Bring the war home," they said at the time of Tet and

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My Lai. Now one can say, about Nicaragua, Bring home the idea of empowerment, of a coalition for change against imperialism in the Americas. At the time of the P.K.H., Vietnamese people took the form of heroic concept, spectral images on television or, for many young Americans, of targets through bombsights or gun barrels. Today, spectral heroes have given way to the lineaments of the real. Thousands of students have been to Central America, to Nicaragua, in a benign role as coffee pickers, volunteer construction workers or simply hitchhikers. They have been to an intellectually, emotionally and linguistically accessible Third World country in the midst of profound change, under siege by the United States. This is the mulch for true internationalism. Burbach and Nuñéz put it well:

> Today, US imperialism, through the employment of its cultural, economic and political power, has linked the United States, Latin America and the Caribbean into a single totality. . . . Just as the right has constructed an ideological conception of the world based on its practice in the past (its failures as well as its successes), so also the left must develop a new vision based on its collective memory and on the struggles of the peoples throughout the Americas.

A Hundred Flowers May Bloom,
But the Greenhouse Looks the Same

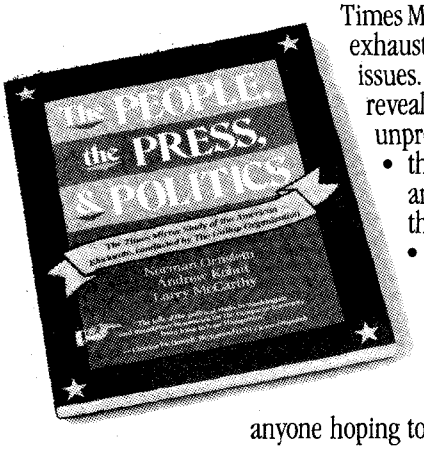
Twenty years down the slope, and in the educational greenhouse, the system is still reproducing itself pretty smoothly. Louis Althusser once said, "It is by the very nature of the knowledge it imparts to students that the bourgeoisie exerts its greatest control over them." In the economics departments they say that unemployment is the consequence of excessively high wages; in political science, that U.S. capitalism represents a pluralist system of consensus; in sociology, that the problem of the disintegrating black family is the failure of black males to emulate Bill Cosby; in philosophy, that moral issues are irrelevant to the discipline; in journalism, that reporters are value free and news media disinterested providers of information; and in history—as the man said, in history you can lie forever. At least in the sciences nature sets the terms. Look at the difference in radical activism between Harvard and M.I.T.

Those right-wing students at Dartmouth have been the latest to realize, hot on the heels of Allan Bloom, that the prime battleground for students is that of knowledge. What are you learning and why? What are you not learning and why not? If no Marx in the classroom, then bring the old fellow into a study group. This is the last time in your life you'll have plenty of time to read.

Without a critical intelligentsia you can't have critical knowledge. So far as Lenin was concerned, neither intelligentsia nor knowledge was worth much without a revolutionary party or what we had better now call, since we live in the age of adjusted expectations and more realistic understanding of the wellsprings of change, a progressive movement. But maybe E.M. Cioran was being too cynical, insufficiently dialectical, when he wrote, "In ideological matters, we are not easily renewed without the help of synonyms." The social soup has, after all, thickened somewhat since Lenin wrote *What Is To Be Done?* or *State and Revolution* and, as Boris Kagarlitsky remarked to me in Moscow last October, young Russians are now reading

Democrats, Republicans, and other myths.

If you think the American electorate consists of two major voting blocs, you're only off by nine.



Times Mirror recently commissioned The Gallup Organization to conduct the most exhaustive study ever undertaken of public attitudes on a wide range of vital issues. Based on 4224 interviews, **The People, The Press, and Politics** reveals not two, but eleven distinct voting blocs ready for the '88 election. This unprecedented survey also discloses that:

- the conventional labels–liberal and conservative, Republican, Democrat, and Independent–bear little or no relation to the true, diverse nature of the electorate.
- the largest constituency of the Democratic Party is dying without being replaced.
- Americans under the age of 30 have far more faith in government than their elders do.
- nine basic values and orientations drive–and divide–all Americans.

The People, The Press, and Politics is essential reading for anyone hoping to truly understand the American psyche in this election year.

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Gramsci and Marcuse as well as Bakunin.

Given the fact that the left throughout the Americas (with the exception of Cuba and Nicaragua) has little or no influence over the state, it is necessary to focus on working and organizing in what Burbach and Nuñéz call civil society; that is, "all the groups and organizations that are not part of the dominant order or the ruling class." Democratic revolution requires the mobilization of the bulk of civil society around a common cause, against the dominant ideology and the traditional political parties that reinforce and sustain the dominant order.

We have examples to hand of such successful mobilization. The solidarity movement, in the teeth of vehement opposition from the Reagan Administration and the corporate media, rallied public opinion against intervention in Central America. An equivalent mobilization on South Africa led to some moderate degree of success. Over the past twenty years, at widely varying degrees of intensity, there has been a campaign within civil society against the corporate state's abuses of the very element it claims as its animating principle: democracy. At the start of the 1960s Ralph Nader began to define the meaning of "empowerment" and "accountability." He opened his salvos against General Motors in this journal in 1959. Eight years later the March 1967 issue of ***Ramparts*** alerted a generation to the C.I.A.'s manipulation of the student movement and inaugurated the opposition to covert, undemocratic actions of the state. That opposition unseated Nixon and seriously weakened the Reagan Administration. Today Nader still introduces students to the issues and techniques of empowerment, and former C.I.A. officers tour campuses explaining, in more detail than the editors of ***Ramparts*** could have dreamed of, the meaning of "covert action" and undemocratic abuse.

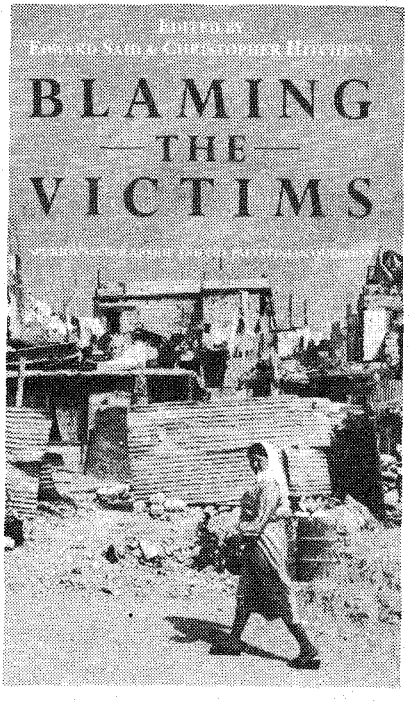
These are mobilizations of civil society that have had much effect, contrasting with long years of reverses on the battleground of economic justice, though here, twenty years on, the Jackson campaign sets the tempo for a counterattack by civil society on a broad agenda: raising of the minimum wage, restoration of progressivity in the tax system, reassertion of public control.

There are marked differences in the complicity or criticality of institutions within civil society toward the state. At one end the corporate media are complicit; at the other, the churches have engendered the greatest criticality over the past few years. The universities have been mostly fulfilling their parasitical function as appendages of corporate capitalism, a function most tersely expressed by John Hannah, president of Michigan State in 1961, when he said, "Our colleges and universities must be regarded as bastions of our defense, as essential to preservation of our country and our way of life as supersonic bombers, nuclear-powered submarines and intercontinental ballistic missiles."

Students challenging that function have to start with the central question—What kind of knowledge is being produced and imparted?—then turn their attention to the concomitant questions, To whom is this knowledge being made available? To whom is it being denied? In that way they would place on the agenda an issue crucial to the relationship between civil society and the state: the availability and nature of education in a truly democratic society. □

Has repression of the truth about Palestinians by Western media led to the current impasse in the Middle East?

Is there a solution?



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RADICAL RAP.

Tales Out of School

In any country, but especially in one as sprawling and diverse as the United States, radical movements comprise a multitude of activities and perspectives, often as varied as the movers' own life stories. What follows is a sampling of voices from within the student left, along with one view from a veteran of the last go-round. Although this selection does not pretend to represent the movement as a whole, each essay reflects the need to choose one's battleground—whether to put out an alternative newspaper, support striking workers, organize among the homeless, fight intervention in Central America, target corporate greed or build a new counterculture.

WENDE MARSHALL

I was born in New Haven in 1961, in the midst of the civil rights movement, into a black family with a history of activism. By the time I was 6, I knew I wanted to be some kind of organizer. I was strongly influenced by the trial of Bobby Seale and Erica Huggins, and by seeing the National Guard posted on the roofs with rifles. Angela Davis was my image of a strong black woman.

I went to public high school and then to Princeton, before the aid cuts changed the composition of the student body. I was bowled over by the racism there: I met white students and teachers who believed that black students were too stupid to do the work and that we were taking the places of more qualified whites. So I became involved with the Third World Center on campus, and in the People's Front for the Liberation of Southern Africa, which occupied part of the library to demand divestment and ran alternative candidates for the board of trustees. I also founded an organization for Third World women because of my experiences working with black and Latin men. Even some of my close women friends didn't support that at first—until they saw the opposition from men.

Reading Cabral and the African liberation theorists and thinking about the struggle in South Africa, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique gave me a new lens through which to look at racism and class oppression here. I also read Marx and Lenin, and started to piece together an idea of what was wrong based on my whole life as a black woman. I transferred to Barnard and joined a New York City group affiliated with the national Progressive Student Network. That was a very frustrating experience, because we were operating mainly out of private colleges in a city where most students are in public colleges and are unorganized. I felt strongly that we needed to go out and talk to students and find out what their interests were, but most of the others wanted to take stands on issues they had already thought up. So, for instance, we devoted no time to organizing around student aid cuts but a lot of time on the June 12 peace march, much to my disgust. The older leftists who supported us seemed to be with the students who wanted to do that, and I even remember wondering if dealing with the issues that would attract most students was "radical enough." I pretty much got the impression from the others that it was not.

I transferred to Hunter College for financial reasons, though I also looked forward to being in a school where most people were women and not white. I majored in urban social history, studying housing and homelessness and the role women played in urban reform around the turn of the century. I also worked at a city housing agency and with a community group in Harlem trying to develop a housing project with city money. It was a lesson in what I didn't want to do for the rest of my life. I picked up some skills, but I also saw how ineffective city government is.

After I graduated, I took part in the Minority Activist Apprenticeship Program of the Center for Third World Organizing (CTWO) in California. That strengthened my committment to organizing: I got the sense that the struggle for justice was being passed down in a kind of formal way. I met people who had been active in SNCC, who organized with farm workers, who worked in the National Welfare Rights Organization and in Native American struggles. I went back to New York and spent an intense period studying SNCC and the S.C.L.C. with a CTWO activist.

Now I'm interested in creating organizing models that deal with people's whole lives, that aren't male centered, that are less focused on the organizers and more empowering for the people involved. I couldn't find a place in New York where I really wanted to work, so some friends and I put together a committee and asked CTWO to help us get our own group off the ground. That led to the Hotel Tenants' Rights Project, which is staffed by homeless people and two other former student activists, Kelly McGowan and Milyoung Cho, as well as a current student, Debra Moran. We are building a membership organization for women who live in welfare hotels, to help them lead the struggle for decent housing.

Students have an important role to play in projects like ours because many of them have the freedom to spend time organizing and to take risks. But to be effective, students have to be willing to accept community leadership. The student organizing model I admire most is SNCC, in which people left their high schools and college campuses and went into the community to help those people lead and organize and fight. If you're going to be an organizer, you have to get it into your head that you should be behind the scenes, that you shouldn't get the credit or get famous. Your work speaks for you; your mouth doesn't. □

Wende Marshall is the coordinator of program development for the Hotel Tenants' Rights Project.

MARY JO NEUBERGER

Student activism is not what it used to be. In the 1960s progressive politics was practically a required course on college campuses, and student actions came to represent a wider opposition movement in society. Affirmation was ubiquitous; the enemy was easily identifiable and seemed conquerable.

The 1980s provide a completely different framework for activism. There is an alienation not just from our parents but from the majority of our peers. Di-

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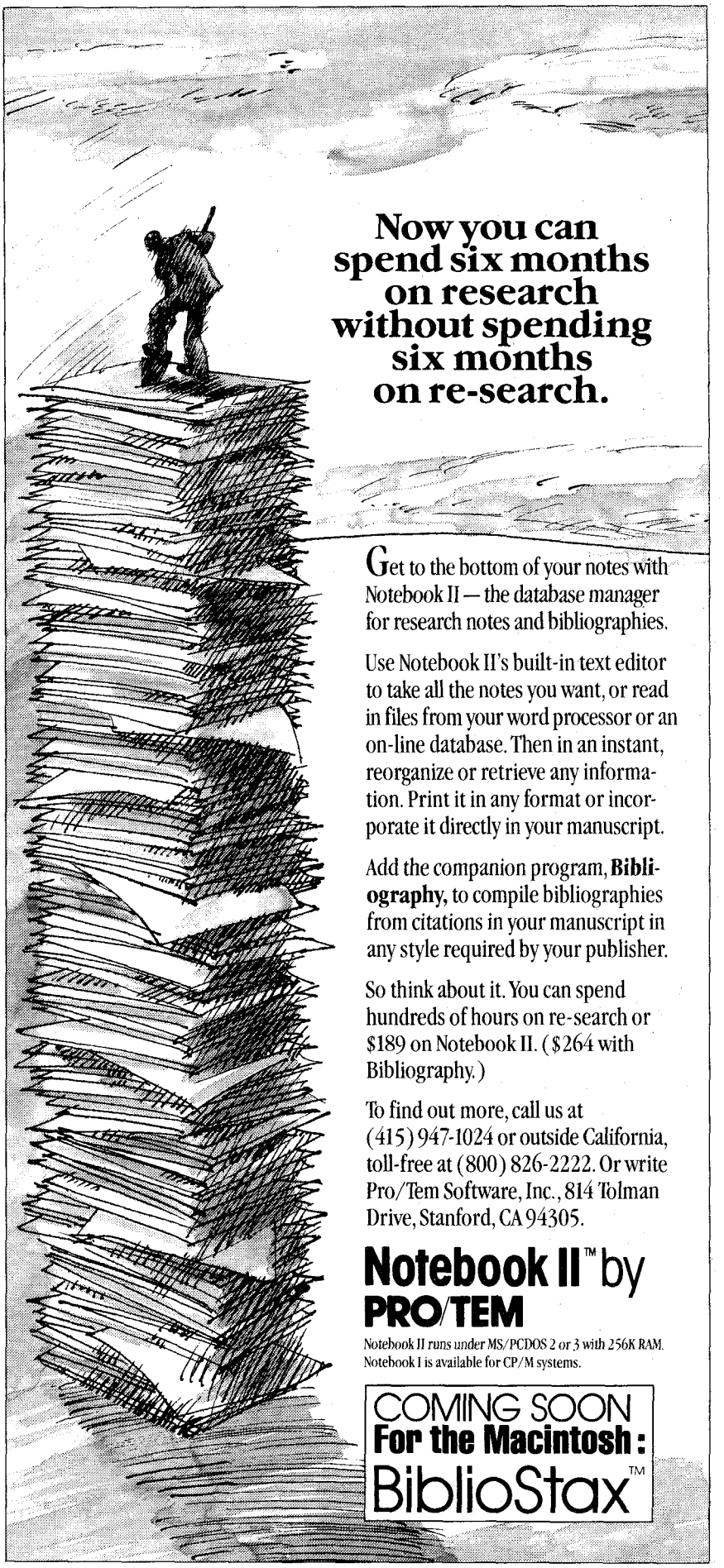
vestment from South Africa and anti-intervention in Central America are rallying increasing support, but the groups formed around those and other issues are only loosely connected. Their strategies are diverse and their accomplishments sporadic. Although the lack of consensus is often seen as a liability, the independence of affiliated groups allows their members to develop and internalize a critical way of thinking that can lead to lasting politicization. This internalization has been crucial for sustaining political commitment as issues have gained and lost prominence in the Reagan age. There is today a set of shared values and commitment among activists, but there is no formal organization or even visible community that encompasses student politics.

In truth, throughout the Reagan years only one progressive network has remained a fixture on college campuses, the Public Interest Research Groups, inspired by Ralph Nader. After graduating from college, in 1985, I worked for the PIRGs. In the national headquarters in Boston I learned how they have endured and what, I believe, it has cost them.

The PIRGs emerged in the early 1970s as a means of channeling student activism through organization. They were a motley collection of campus groups working semi-independently for environmental protection and corporate and government responsibility. Nader's dream was a grand one: to empower people through little changes until they felt they could take on the system. Then came Reagan's "morning [after] in America."

To survive, the PIRG leadership decided to consolidate its forces into a nationwide body, called the Fund for Public Interest Research. The fund would develop technical and organizational knowledge that could be dispersed to PIRGs in twenty-seven states. Desiring a wider financial base, the fund trained and sent out organizers to hire canvassers, who recruited dues-paying citizen members in each state. To satisfy the expanded membership, a broader appeal was also needed. Bottle bills, car "lemon" laws and lower utility rates were generic but useful issues; they were nonpartisan, noncontroversial, progressive enough and, most important, winnable. The strategy was logical. What worked in one state could work in another—and it did. The fund became a strong, efficient institution. But inadvertently,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HYPOCRISY: AMERICA'S LEADING EXPORT

Under the cover of "making the world safe for democracy", the U.S. has countless Military interventions and covert operations directed at destabilizing sovereign nations and popularly supported governments. Washington, D.C.'s rhetoric about democratic rights is twice over a fraud. Its global exploits have more to do with propping up multinational corporate interests than with the export of democracy. And the U.S. record on democracy at home is abysmal.

The U.S. is ranked near the bottom of some 75 world-wide electoral democracies in voter participation. A maze of legislation and regulations restricts voter registration and impedes access to the ballot for insurgents and independents. A steady erosion of the fairness doctrine has led to monopolization of the media by heavily funded major party candidates. And genuine public debate on critical social and foreign policy issues is stifled by the lack of democratic process.

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efficiency began to replace politics. The emphasis on growth led to an obsession with numbers-crunching: How many schools can we win, how many members can we get, how many bills can we pass? The PIRGs still covered the original territory, protecting the environment and opposing big business, but they bypassed contentious issues like divestment and anti-interventionism—the same issues that were reigniting activism on college campuses. In the process the line between engendering lasting political commitment among students and drawing them in hard and fast began to blur.

At one meeting I attended in 1985 at Tufts University, PIRG staff organizers spoke at length, explaining the issues that had been approved at the statewide conference that year and outlining the role students were expected to play. It was the end of the meeting before they asked the students for their own ideas. For students who had come to the campus PIRG hoping for an initiation into bottom-up politics, this was a disappointment. The organization that called itself "the alternative for students," had made all the decisions for them.

The slew of recent graduates hired as organizers by the national PIRG fund had taken a similar leap of faith. They would tolerate the low pay and long hours for the benefit of becoming politically engaged. Many, myself included, were disappointed. We were needed to bring in members but not to inject our opinions. Within six months MASSPIRG lost about half its organizers. They didn't go quietly. But their criticisms, which might have been used as a basis for reconsidering the PIRGs' methods, were instead perceived as a betrayal of the organization. When I quit, at the end of 1985, I was made to feel I wasn't politically committed enough—an experience shared by others who came and left after I did.

To be fair, the PIRGs do work of immeasurable value. Without them, who would organize voters while the left discusses ideology? Who would painstakingly keep tabs on politicians, corporations and chemical dumpers? Some of the campus chapters did retain their independence and began working with antiapartheid and antinuclear groups at their schools. And the entire New York State chapter, NYPIRG, never joined the fund; thus it has more flexibility to respond to grass-roots concerns.

During the time I was in the organization it seemed that in their zeal for growth the PIRGs were both short-circuiting Nader's goal of mass empowerment and failing their original constituency. The oft-touted "community of like-minded people" can assuage the alienation that goes along with being political in the Reagan era, but the top-down structure robs each member of that community of a sense of power. People need to feel that they own the issues for which they fight; they must be able to define them, analyze them and decide the best way to tackle them. Such independence can't be tolerated in a centralized organization. Moreover, the forces that are driving student politics today—the war in Central America, U.S. support for apartheid, economic injustice at home—imply a constant reevaluation of any kind of system. Inadvertently, the PIRGs have created another, potentially oppressive system.

As the Reagan era wanes, the PIRGs are strong enough to end their preoccupation with survival and to begin to examine their work in the context of current student activism. The recent conference at Rutgers demonstrated that students need to take care of fundamentals before charging ahead. The PIRGs, as the student alternative for almost two decades, would do well to respond to that need. □

Mary Jo Neuberger is a freelance writer living in New York City.

PAT DUNN

Students from all over the United States are going to Nicaragua—and coming back with radically changed attitudes and a lasting commitment to educating others. As Doug Calvin of the Boston-based Student Central America Network points out, the movement to stop the Vietnam War lacked a link with Vietnamese culture. But students who go to Central America can see the effects of solidarity at first hand.

Before Marc Pruyn, a recent U.C.L.A. graduate, went to Nicaragua, an acquaintance told him that there were two kinds of people who make the trip: political activists who have a set leftist ideology, and religious/humanist types. And, the friend added, while those in the latter group come back "more committed, more active, more radical and very inspired," those in the former come back totally confused. Pruyn's experience in Nicaragua shot

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the latter part of this theory to hell.

Pruyn, who was politicized by the divestment movement at U.C.L.A., saw a connection between the situation in South Africa and what is happening in countries like Guatemala and El Salvador. Inspired by a college seminar, he helped start a campus group called Sol Nica, for Committee in Solidarity with Nicaragua, and went to Central America himself. After Pruyn had seen the contrast between "from the ground up" democracy in Nicaragua and the top down democracy that he had experienced in mainstream and leftist political parties in the United States, he moved away from his previous interest in the Young Socialist Alliance and "into a more ground-roots democracy with socialism, which is what's going on in Nicaragua." Today, he is a bilingual teacher in the Los Angeles public school system and a member of the Teachers Committee on Central America, which is part of the United Teachers of Los Angeles. He feels that "even working with an issue-oriented, anti-imperialist group like CISPES or the Teachers Committee on Central America will help to bring about some overall change. Something we do in solidarity with Nicaragua will help Palestine, and something we do on South Africa will help El Salvador."

Christina Perez, a graduate of California State University, Northridge, found the limitations of the Nicaraguan revolution as interesting as its achievements. On her trip with a Latino delegation in 1986, she was struck by the disparity between the ideology of one middle-class woman, who professed "equality for all," and her treatment of her maid. Although this bothered Perez, it made her see that things are not cut and dried. She points out that it's easy for an outsider to judge and that we have to ask ourselves, "If we were in the same situation, would we be making the same mistakes?" And, she adds, "I was happy that I saw some contradiction and that I still feel strongly about the revolution." Perez's trip also made her more committed to getting socialized medicine established in this country. She is now a nurse at one of the three high-school-based clinics in Los Angeles. More than half its patients are Latino, primarily from El Salvador and Guatemala, with a few from Nicaragua, and 30 percent are black, mostly from low-income families with no health insurance.

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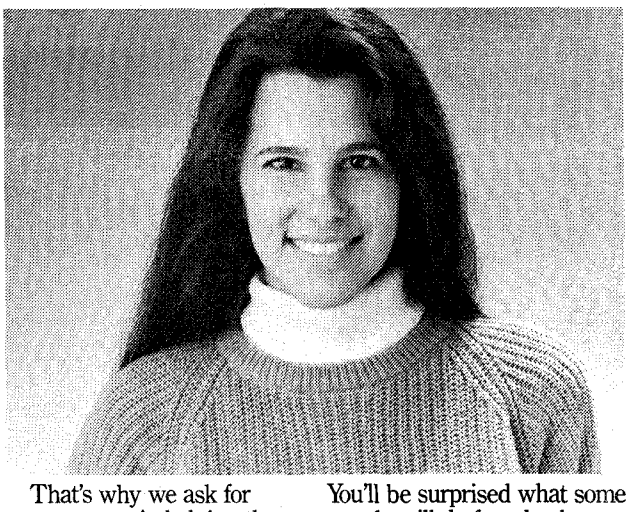

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Martha Arguello, born in Nicaragua but raised in the United States, spent a year and a half in Managua doing policy research in the Ministry of Health. As a student at U.C.L.A. she organized with Chicanos; Nicaragua made her see the importance of an internationalist perspective. She says there is a need to be "looking at how Chicanos are affected by a war in Central America. . . . While Nicaragua's is a nationalist movement, it's [also] much broader, and it understands internationalist issues in a society that's in a transition to socialism." However, she says, "I think you get into trouble when you try to make a parallel between the Nicaraguan revolution and, say, a revolution in a highly industrialized country like the United States. In this country, the issue is about creating spaces. We're not going to have a revolution; right now, we don't even have the kind of things that let people think of an alternative to what we have. In that sense, the student movement is a training ground, but it has to be linked up with community activities that are progressive." But, she adds, "I'm copping out; I'm not going to live here." She's going back to Nicaragua.

Isidro Rodriguez, who has been to Nicaragua twice, understands the desire to go back. Seeing a society attempting to recapture its culture and history made him realize that so much of the history that was stolen from Chicanos and Latinos in this country will never be brought back. Coming home to the United States is not easy, says Rodriguez: "You change your way of living a little bit; you try doing things a little bit differently, but it's hard, because you're here in the belly of the beast once again. And everything you experienced in Nicaragua is now a dream or a fantasy."

Although Rodriguez has hope for the U.S. student left, he has learned from looking at the student movement in Nicaragua that any broad movement will take time: "As for students on the left getting together, it's a recent phenomenon. Up until twenty years ago, you had very few Mexican students on campus. Up until forty years ago, you had very few black students on campus. Although we have common agendas, we're not at the level where we can drop all our different issues to make one thing work. The thing with Nicaragua is, it's a Nicaraguan revolution. Here it's not going to be a black revolution or a Chicano revolution or a white revolution. I don't know what it's going to be, but here you can't say, 'All right, everybody get behind us and we'll point the direction, and everybody go in that direction.' It's a learning process." ☐

Pat Dunn is majoring in history at the University of California, Los Angeles.

LESLIE FRANE

On the final day of classes last semester, about 500 Yale students joined with more than 1,500 Yale workers in a silent vigil demanding fair contracts for the blue-collar, clerical and technical employees of the university. The vigil capped a monthlong organizing drive in which 2,700 workers and 3,180 students signed pledge cards and wore buttons urging that the contracts be "Fair and Done by December One." On January 28 the new contracts were ratified, guaranteeing pay equity and affirmative action through a restructured job-classification system and entry-level training.

Those of us who formed the Yale Labor Support Group drew on our collective experience in other student movements, but the unions themselves provided our organizing model. Learning from the shop-steward system, in which rank-and-file organizers represent each campus workplace on the unions' decision-making body, we built a network of dormitory and department coordinators. In the union tradition, we appealed first to students' self-interest, stressing the disruption that another Yale strike would cause in our lives. And with persistent prodding from Local 34 organizer Andrea Ross, many of us began to reassess what we thought about leadership—a concept that some students, steeped in nonhierarchical campus-politics traditions, had considered antithetical to democracy. The unions' adage, "A leader is someone who brings forth new leaders," helped us to see that a broad leadership base is a strength.

For many of us the union-style stress on organizing, as opposed to educating our classmates or simply agitating against the university, was new. Over lunch and over coffee, in the dorms and in the library, we talked with students about how a strike would affect our lives, and we struggled with classmates over the content of the unions' demands. It sometimes felt odd to spend so much time talking, which didn't seem

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a particularly radical activity. But uneasily and imperfectly a consensus grew among us that the low-key, intensive base building we had undertaken was every bit as radical a tactic as, for example, a small but militant civil-disobedience action would be.

Our coordinators gradually built committees in their dorms and departments and held meetings for students to talk with union members. For many these meetings provided a first opportunity to see the cooks, custodians, carpenters and cashiers of the university as individuals, with their own life stories to tell and their own families to support. Eric Altman is one of the students who joined the Labor Support Group after attending such a meeting. "At first I was mainly worried about how a strike would mess up my life," he said. "But listening to people tell their stories made me angry enough to become an activist." Kristin Martin had heard about the last strike, in 1984, and "realized pretty quickly that a strike wouldn't be fun." But, she added, "We're so trained here at Yale to think that we'll be the managers and not the workers. Hearing workers' point of view made me stop and think about how power is distributed at Yale and elsewhere." For students like Altman and Martin, self-interest opened the way to anger, and anger led to activism. Activism, in turn, led to an implicit critique of Yale's liberal traditions and made some students more supportive of the rights of working-class people beyond Yale's borders.

Our biggest challenge in the Labor Support Group was to strengthen the student-worker coalition by making sure that new sympathizers became organizers in their own right. We stressed the unions' demand for an end to economic discrimination against women and black and Latino men. We lambasted the university's arrogant refusal to respond to the unions' proposals until the last minute. As the deadline approached, we organized protests to avert a strike and prepared ourselves in case a strike proved unavoidable. Our dorm and department coordinators organized students to staff picket lines; working with union members and community leaders, we made arrangements to move classes to local churches, synagogues, businesses, community centers and nearby apartments. With a group of supportive faculty we encouraged professors to call our Alternative Registrar to book off-campus space, and by

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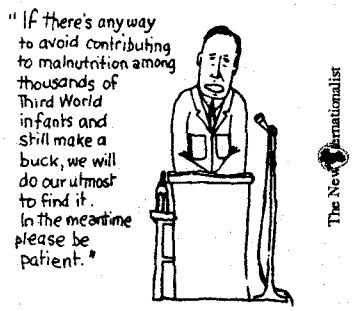
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The last-minute settlement, reached thirty-four hours after the deadline had passed, meant that all our strike preparation went unused. Unused, however, does not mean wasted. In the weeks since the settlement, we've spent hours speculating about why the administration finally caved in and granted nearly every substantive union demand. We'll never know the answer for certain, but an explanation many of us find persuasive is that of Local 34 president Lucille Dickess: "It was the isolation of the university in their position that gave them pause." Together, workers, students, faculty and New Haven residents let the administration know just how uncomfortable we could make their isolation feel. □

Leslie Frane is a graduate student in history at Yale University.

FRED PFEIL

Through most of the 1980s, I lived in Corvallis, Oregon, a quintessential university town, where I worked alongside students in Central America solidarity groups, strike support committees, pro-choice task forces, coalitions against draft registration and the 1984 Jesse Jackson campaign. None of these groups was purely a student group, and I haven't thought much before now in terms of a "new student movement." But there is something about many of the younger activists I've worked with that I'd like to speak to, and that is their shared sense, fostered by the media, that the activists of the 1960s were somehow better—more with it, more together, more high yet more heroic—than they are; that they are at best poor, fumbling, smudged carbons of the sexy, cool, intransigently radical folks we were back then.

That sense of inferiority seems to derive from three invidious comparisons. First, some of today's students envy us the counterculture we shared: the whole alternative terrain of music and dress and life styles, from acid and batik and *Sgt. Pepper* to the Marches on Washington. Second, they envy us our optimism: our contradictory faith in the inherent goodness of the world and, simultaneously, in the apocalyptic-utopian truth that the Old World was dying and the New Age was coming in.

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And finally, I think they look on the most televised, wild-in-the-streets edge of the student rebellion and sigh in weary resignation for their birth into a grimmer, more prosaic age.

Anyone of my generation who lived through those earlier times knows that each of these comparisons rests on a partial truth, albeit a media-coarsened and caricatured one. But the truth of the comparisons cuts both ways: On each count, it can also be a source of strength and pride for today's activists.

Take the issue of the missing counterculture. Sure, having one made us feel more together but it could also act as a barrier to other individuals, groups, classes and generations whose tastes remained too "straight" (a term that also, secretly, subsumed "tacky"). Moreover, the same counterculture that could serve as a way into political commitment also inspired a virtually imperceptible slide away from it: The Jefferson Airplane that called out to us, "Look what's happenin' out on the street/Gotta revolution, gotta revolution," issued the equally powerful and beguiling invitation for us to "Go ride the music"—on the same album. And many of those who followed the second route found themselves, by 1975, more involved in the search for self-realization, inner peace, raw cotton clothing from the Third World, and the ambiguities of the newest Eagles album than in any struggles for social change. So maybe it's not such a bad thing that today's student activists lack a common set of cultural allegiances—especially if that lack makes it that much less likely they will snub or neglect potential allies with different life styles, or permit their own commitments to be shifted from politics to commodities, radical democracy to Taster's Choice.

The same goes for both the optimism and the high, wild-in-the-streets, politics-as-theater stuff—aspects of that earlier radicalism that existed in a weird complementary relationship to each other. The optimism was the end-product of a childhood faith in the United States as a democratic country fully as good as it was great, and in ourselves as kids who, we were told again and again, could have, make or transform anything we set our minds to. The Days of Rage, the bloody confrontations and desperate bids for media space were what we got to when the stunning, painful truth finally hit us: that the evil was structural, not circumstantial; and that the racism, imperialism, inequality and injustice we opposed were bitten too deeply into the American grain to go away merely because we announced to the world that they were bad.

Now, it seems the new student activists know better—and, accordingly, start their thinking and organizing, as Brecht once recommended, not on the basis of the "good old days" but on the "bad new ones" instead. It's the upside of coming of age in an epoch of declining expectations. You don't expect that you can end apartheid or the arms race or the war against Nicaragua overnight, so you don't freak out and fall apart or riot for the cameras when you can't. Instead, you work at the slow, painstaking task of reaching out to other and larger constituencies, of putting out the newsletter and distributing it every Wednesday, of keeping up the mailing list, of letting the powers that be know that you are there, indefatigably on their ass until they divest, stop the war, straighten up and fly right.

This is not glamorous work: It does not create many heroes for mass emulation, and it often makes you feel as though you're spinning your wheels in loose sand. But heroes usually attain their splendid visibility by standing on hierarchies; whereas consensus, equality and communalism are, more often than not, what the new activism is about.

ON THE ISSUES

Choices
Women's Medical Center, Inc.

Waiting Their Turn: Bella Abzug *(Women, USA)*, Vicki Alexander, M.D. *(Black Women's Health Network)*, Merle Hoffman *(Choices)*, and Betty Maloney *(Radical Women)* were a few of the rousing speakers at the January 22 Pro-Choice Rally in Bryant Park, NYC.

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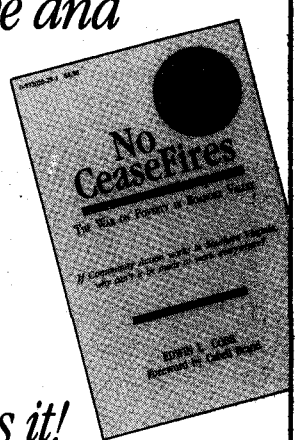

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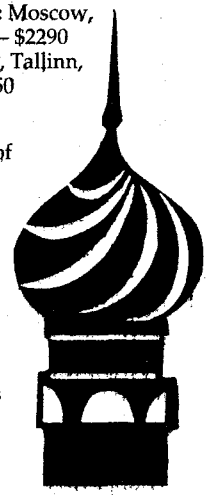

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This concern with dialogue and democracy at every step and stage has much to do with the increased presence and power of women in the current movements for peace and justice—much as the hero-centered, leader/led propensities of the white student movement of the 1960s stemmed from and fed back into the male chauvinism that infected nearly every group.

I've been hard—reductively, one-sidedly hard, probably—on my generation's youthful activism. But as Christa Wolf wrote in her brilliant novel of the hope and disillusionment in post-war East Germany, *The Quest for Christa T.*, "Nothing is so difficult as turning one's attention to things as they really are, to events as they really occur, after one has spent a long time not doing so and has mistaken their reflection in wishes, beliefs, and judgements for the things and events themselves." On the other hand, I have to admit there also seems an element of good sense in the wistfulness today's students feel when they look back at us in that earlier, wilder time. As Wolf puts it in the same novel, "Make a wry face if you like, but all the same: one must, once in a lifetime, when the time was right, have believed in the impossible." Which we did for a time, to our everlasting glory and sorrow—both of them deeper and truer than any of our manifold follies and errors. So, for all our sakes, I pray that the time may be right again soon. □

Fred Pfeil is a fellow at the Center for the Humanities at Wesleyan University.

JASON PRAMAS

As the youth left sorts its way through the old left's tangled web of ideologies and tactics, from liberal to revolutionary, we will increasingly have to use the one weapon we really have to fight the machine that hates us: imagination! Because the major oppression which breeds dissent in a still largely white, middle-class youth movement is cultural, the path to liberation and self-esteem for these kids lies not in outslicking the bourgeoisie but in rejecting mainstream culture entirely for an alternative one. There *is* a counterculture out there, most visible in the cities that remained somewhat liberated after the last generation of revolt but also alive in places like Dayton, Boise, St. Louis and Goshen, Indiana.

Political punk bands like A.P.P.L.E.

in New York City; Conflict in the U.K.; Final Conflict, M.D.C. (Millions of Dead Cops) and Social Unrest in Los Angeles; and D.O.A. in Vancouver continue to inspire and sometimes motivate people to act against the status quo. Meanwhile, as the Deadhead cult becomes exploited by MTV commercialism and as many hard-core punk groups move like fame-starved rats toward the big-contract nirvana of heavy metal, the political fans of those two subcultures are being drawn together. Musically, these kids often meet in their shared love of reggae, whose soulful appeal seems to be universal and whose political message is often revolutionary. In Boston, bands like the New Lions, One People, I-Tones and Afrikan Roots do political benefits and pack the house every time. Culturally, reggae does much toward diffusing the whiteness of these subcultures. While the Deadheads, punks and witches are certainly not all white (there is a bourgeoisie of color in the 'burbs, and their children are more likely to be punks than rappers), they are not especially inclusive, either.

The central theme of this counterculture is, "Do as thou wilt." We have long hair, shaved heads and mohawks. We wear all black or the colors of the rainbow, tie-dyes and combat boots, leather jackets and peasant skirts, suit jackets and ripped jeans—or sometimes mainstream clothes and standard hairstyles. We have been through the total naturalness of hippie and the artificiality and nihilism of punk. We are both and neither. We are lesbian, bisexual, gay, straight and celibate. You can find us hustling bread on the streets, working temp jobs, straight jobs or canvassing for Greenpeace, SANE or the Clean Water Action Project. You can see us starting coffeehouses like She's Leaving Home in Boston, multipurpose art-and-politics projects like Maxworks in Chicago or Circle A in Atlanta.

You can also see us in hundreds of publications, photocopied or offset: music fanzines, political and cartoon mags, art publications. Names like *Street* (Boston), *Ground Zero* (Richmond), *Mayday* (Chicago), *Ratlanta* (Atlanta), *Farce* (Minneapolis), *Bad Newz* (New York City) and *Reality Now!* come to mind. In *Maximum RocknRoll*, the San Francisco–based grandmother of political punk 'zines, you can read the pleas of innumerable bright, articulate 15-year-olds from the middle of nowhere looking for human pen pals because they know the "system" is screwing them but have no one to talk to.

The only thing lacking in this homebrew of revolt is a sense of community and purpose. That may be on the way. □

Jason Pramas is organizing the New England radical student network.

FELICIA KORNBLUH

Now is the season for nostalgia. As a slew of 1960s anniversaries roll by, liberals and radicals of a certain generation mumble thoughtfully about the founding of Students for a Democratic Society, the Summer of Love and the women's takeover of the *Rat* the way an older group mumbles about D-Day, Normandy and the Battle of the Bulge. This current generation of reminiscing adults forgets with ease that the battles of the 1960s are apt to cast as long and formidable a shadow as any other period of war. What's a young radical journalist to do?

Last spring some friends and I, mostly alumnae of the antiapartheid and anti-*contra* movements and members of the burgeoning support group for the Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers, decided to found a radical newspaper. We have published four issues by now, covering everything from campus activism and university governance to grass-roots organizing in the Boston area, labor politics in South Africa and a women's collective movement in Peru. ***Subterranean Review***, like a growing number of radical college papers, is slouching toward a voice and political perspective of its own. But it isn't easy.

First, that stuff you hear about the increasing career anxiety and preprofessionalism among college students is largely true, although it's a lot more attributable to the weaknesses of the economy than to some pathological Scrooge-likeness of this generation. Second, we have to work in the reflected light of myth. Rhetoric and the 1960s nostalgia boom have fogged the past so badly that we can barely sort out what happened twenty years ago, much less learn from it and strike out on our own. We faced the sixties-eighties question when searching for a name for our paper. Nothing that emerged from our well-run, consensus-conscious sessions was as juicy as the ***Berkeley Barb***, ***Rat*** or ***Fuck You: A Magazine of the Arts***. In

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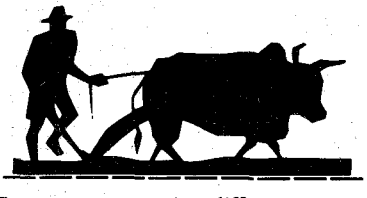

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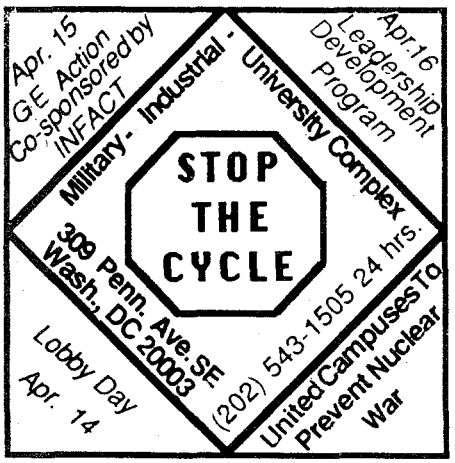

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1968, *Old Mole* began publishing out of Cambridge. Should we revive the name? "That'd scare the administration," several voices chimed. But were late S.D.S.-style tactics really the point? No, we decided, that wasn't the message we wanted to send—too backward-looking, too "sixties." But even our final choice has Bob Dylan overtones that make some of us wince.

Then, there's our relationship to the vagaries of campus activism. Last term, there was nothing going on comparable to the South Africa divestment movement of 1985-86. The Women's Center reopened after a two-year lull, and the clerical and technical workers' union drew support in its organizing drive, but neither inspired the fervor, intensity or visible commitment of those just-gone times. Enter *Subterranean Review*, paradoxes in tow. Are we supposed to spur activism on campus? Well, sure. To support ongoing activism? No problem. How about criticizing the campus left or critiquing the left in general? Do the time and resources it takes to keep *SR* afloat detract from campus activism as much as the paper may contribute to it? Here the questions get thorny. With the union campaign heating up and more South Africa action on the agenda, we will see this spring whether the people who started out as newspaper activists (as opposed to divestment activists, etc.) will put themselves on the line for other causes. We may also find out whether *SR* has helped keep left discourse alive.

Most of the people who come to *Subterranean Review* meetings are good kids from upscale families who found their politics between the lines of *The New York Times* and the rhetoric of liberal Democrats. Fuzzy liberals as freshmen and -women, our politics change through work on one issue or movement, or through classroom explications of radicalism. Our political education and analysis tend to be partial, sometimes naïve and largely abstract. No one wants to play vanguard, nor are we looking for easy consensus on hard issues (and certainly don't want to send sympathetic people away), but we do have politics. How to explain them, though, even among ourselves?

For *SR*, one answer is to tie broad political questions to real people and movements for change. For example, we tried to breach the political silence on Israel and the Palestinians with a piece on Palestinian activism in Boston. We wrote in December about the destruction of M.I.T.'s tent city and the students, politicians and religious leaders working with the homeless to stop the yuppification of Cambridge. For the third issue of *SR*, I spent several days with a group of striking workers from the Nevada nuclear test site. They came to Cambridge because members of the Harvard and M.I.T. faculty and administration sit on the board of E.G. & G., the company that runs the site and is trying to break their union. The politics of class started to make sense at a visceral level as the M.I.T. provost faced off with the group of union members and students who were occupying the office of the university president. He recited, through a floral tie, the self-justifying watchwords of his faith: This institution has lived up to its responsibilities, done everything it could reasonably be expected to do, is a member in good standing of its community.

Subterranean Review belongs to a growing network of alternative campus publications called the Network of the Alternative Student Press (NASP). Founded last spring (under a different name) NASP now has sixty affiliates, mostly from the Northeast but including the papers at the University of Texas, Austin, and U.C.L.A. According to the particulars of geography, financing and university structure, the papers and their pet issues vary widely. At the University of Vermont, a public school in a progressive town, the *Gadfly* publishes fortnightly out of an office in the student union building, with the help of the Student Association and dependable advertising funds. At Boston University, a large urban campus with a reactionary administration, *bu exposure* not only fails to get college funds but is explicitly forbidden to publish on campus. At Dartmouth, home of the flagship conservative-movement paper *The Dartmouth Review* and also a bastion of sexism, the *Womyn's Re/view* faces a constant battle. Financial survival is a struggle; contributors and distributors are harassed by other students. NASP's challenge is to meet the different needs of all these papers. To begin that process, *SR* and *bu exposure* will host the first formal NASP convention in Boston this spring. □

Felicia Kornbluh is a junior at Harvard University.

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RESOURCES.

Below is a directory of progressive, mainly student organizations active across the country. Although it focuses on national and regional associations, it does include some local groups that have formed in the absence of a national or regional network. Unavoidably, this is only a partial listing, but we hope it will facilitate communication and cooperation among grass-roots groups nationwide. The directory was compiled by Elizabeth Beer and Christopher Hull.

American Committee on Africa
198 Broadway, Room 402
New York, NY 10038
(212) 962-1210
Contact: Lisa Crooms, Rob Jones

American Native Peoples Organization
Carleton College
Northfield, MN 55057
(507) 663-4448
Contact: Amy Taylor

Asian/Pacific Island Student Union
c/o Margaret Wong
4419 Irving Street
San Francisco, CA 94121
(415) 664-1333 or 338-1958
Contact: Margaret Wong

Black Student Communication Organizing Network
P.O. Box 3164
Jamaica, NY 11431
(718) 526-7056
Contact: Willie Terry

California Alliance of Progressive Student Activists
P.O. Box 6788
Stanford, CA 94309
(415) 852-9573
Contact: Barb Voss

Campus Peace and Justice Coalition
P.O. Box 2726
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa, AL 35486
(205) 339-4529
Contact: Eve Passerini

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors
2208 South Street
Philadelphia, PA 19146
(215) 545-4626
Contact: Lou Anne Merkle

Center for Third World Organizing/Minority Activist Apprenticeship Program
3861 Martin Luther King Jr. Way
Oakland, CA 94609
(415) 654-9601
Contact: Frank Calpotura

Chicanos Against Military Intervention in Latin America
2000 Glen Oaks Court
Austin, TX 78702
(512) 477-6084
Contact: Isolda Ortega

Committee Against Registration and the Draft
731 State Street
Madison, WI 53703
(608) 257-7562
Contact: Zoltan Grossman, Gillam Kerley

Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador
P.O. Box 12056
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 265-0890
Contact: Julie Shayne

Democratic Socialists of America Youth Section
15 Dutch Street, Suite 500
New York, NY 10038
(212) 962-0390
Contact: Elissa McBride

D.C. Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism
P.O. Box 18291
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 387-4549
Contact: Angela Parker, Charlie Potter

East Coast Asian Student Union
27 Beach Street, #3A
Boston, MA 02111
(617) 426-5313
Contact: Amy Chu

Environmental Action
1525 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 745-4870
Contact: Sandra Ledbetter

Fellowship of Reconciliation
P.O. Box 271
Nyack, NY 10960
(914) 358-4601
Contact: Jo Becker

General Union of Palestinian Students
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Alexandria, VA 22304
(703) 845-1043
Contact: Mazen Ali

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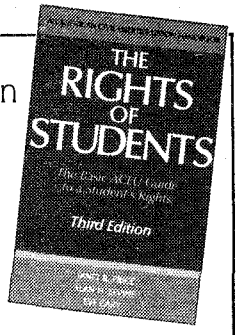

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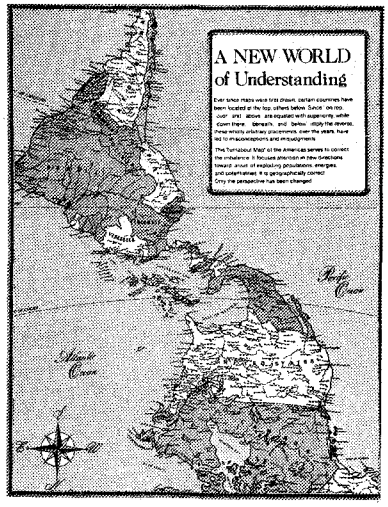

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Contact: Reginald Ramsey

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New York, NY 10032
(212) 927-4814
Contact: Wende Marshall

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Madison, WI 53715
(608) 257-4034 or 836-3614
Contact: Matt Stewart

Movimiento Estudiante Chicano de Aztlan
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UMC Room 182
Boulder, CO 80303
(303) 492-6571
Contact: Diana Peña

National African Youth Student Alliance
105 Madison Avenue, Suite 1101
New York, NY 10016
(212) 533-7370
Contact: Lisa Williamson

National Black Student Unity Conference
Blackburn University Center
Room 102
Howard University
Washington, DC 20059
(202) 636-7007
Contact: Ona Alston, Fritz Jean

National Chicano Student Association
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, NM 87131
(505) 277-1922
Contact: Donald Gallegos

National Coalition for the Homeless
1439 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 265-2371
Contact: Martien Taylor

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Campus Project
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Washington, DC 20009
(202) 332-6483
Contact: Kevin Berrill

National Indian Youth Council
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Contact: Gerald Wilkinson

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Contact: Barbara Hays-Hamilton

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Washington, DC 20003-0599
(202) 547-2300
Contact: Kim Paulus

National Student Campaign Against Hunger
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(617) 292-4823
Contact: Leslie Samuelrich

The Network
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Greensboro, NC 27405
(919) 334-5753
Contact: Clinton Hughes

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New York, NY 10024
(212) 724-4864
Contact: Karen Weinberg

North East Lesbian and Gay Student Union
c/o National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (see above)
or c/o Ethan Felson
38 Lovelace Drive
West Hartford, CT 06117
(203) 233-0434
Contact: Ethan Felson

Palestine Solidarity Committee
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San Francisco, CA 94127
(415) 861-1552
Contact: Ginny Kraus

Progressive Roundtable
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Austin, TX 78741
(512) 447-7794
Contact: Dan Gohl

Progressive Student Network
P.O. Box 1027
Iowa City, IA 52244
(319) 351-8641
Contact: Alix Weber

Progressive Zionist Caucus
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New York, NY 10011
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Contact: Stephanie Genkin

San Diego Progressive Student Network
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Contact: Cecelie Counts

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Contact: Kevin Harris

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Pasadena, CA 91125
(818) 791-9096
Contact: Denise BeCotte

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Washington, DC 20009
(202) 483-1432
Contact: Matthew Countryman

Young Socialist Alliance
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(212) 334-1110
Contact: Estelle Bates

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New York, NY 10036
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Washington, DC 20016
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San Diego, CA 92101
(619) 233-1701
Contact: Kathy Gilberd

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Contact: William Sonn

National Student News Service
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Contact: Bruce Allen, Liz Wittner

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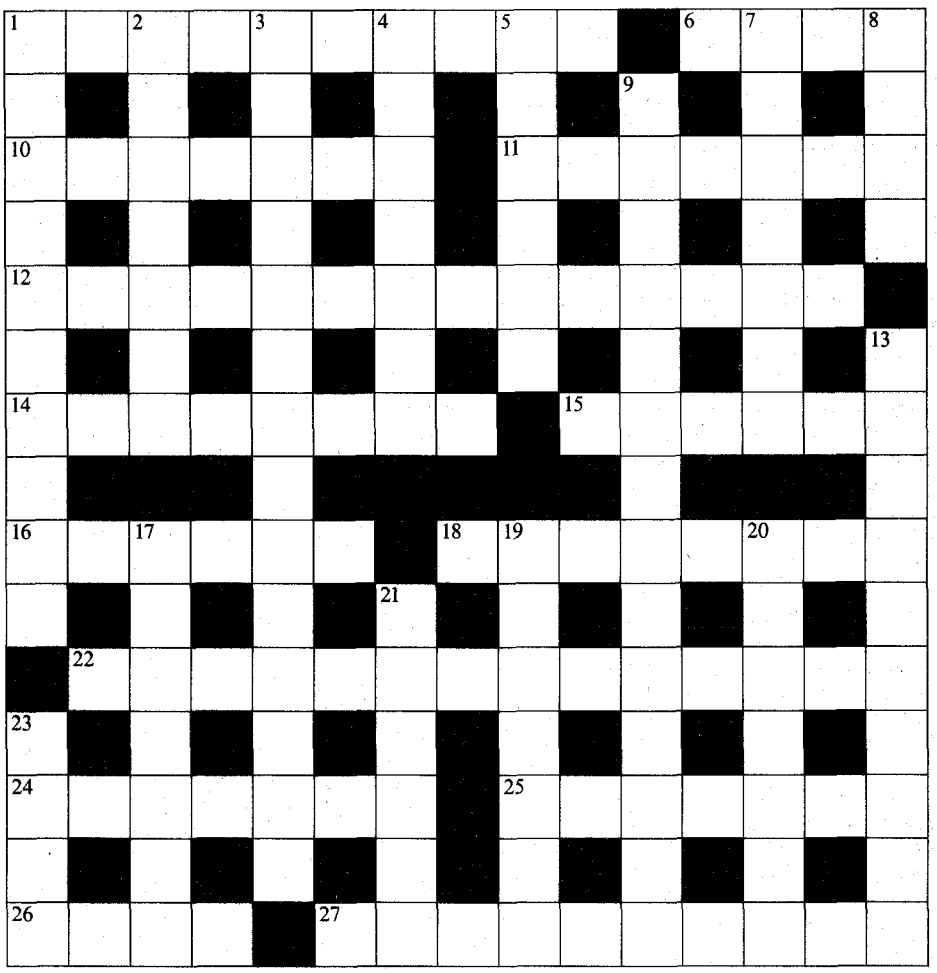
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2189

■	P	■	A	■	K	■	W	■	S	■	G	■	D	■
C	U	R	R	E	N	T	E	X	P	E	N	S	E	S
■	L	■	I	■	E	■	A	■	R	■	A	■	S	■
I	C	E	A	G	E	■	S	C	I	A	T	I	C	A
■	H	■	■	■	H	■	E	■	N	■	■	■	R	■
F	R	E	T	■	I	D	L	E	G	O	S	S	I	P
■	I	■	R	■	G	■	S	■	■	■	A	■	B	■
A	T	R	O	P	H	Y	■	S	C	A	T	H	E	D
■	U	■	P	■	■	■	I	■	A	■	I	■	A	■
A	D	V	E	N	T	U	R	E	S	■	N	O	C	K
■	I	■	■	■	H	■	K	■	H	■	■	■	I	■
I	N	J	U	R	I	E	S	■	M	O	L	A	R	S
■	O	■	R	■	R	■	O	■	E	■	E	■	C	■
T	U	R	N	S	S	O	M	E	R	S	A	U	L	T
■	S	■	S	■	T	■	E	■	E	■	R	■	E	■

Crossword Puzzle No. 2190

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 6 So called because that's where they haul in the crops? (10,4)
10 The first one of the Union to try to keep order in the class . . . (7)
11 . . . but rather coy in any circumstances—and there's no one to keep order in this! (7)
12 With a big advantage one might be, being aware of some charitable act. (4,1,4,5)
14 What a good speller does when a famous detective finds he's in a fouled nest. (8)
15 We have been told stone walls do not make one. (6)
16 What the infamous colonel is, according to the heart of a bent nail. (6)
18 It might be relevant to assume the existence of something, and copy things around it. (8)
22 What the program might be written on, with the time belonging to us fitting people to a T! (One might lose heart with it.) (14)
24 Where to find traveling salesmen, which includes a short stop when run together. (7)
25 How I gain something by effort, if I've incorrectly got in painful trouble. (7)
26 What a hound sometimes does, or horses, perhaps. (4)
27 One who was responsible for the old transportation also invented the power loom. (10)

DOWN

1 Where Roosevelt once lived with English and Italian flowers and something that rings a circle. (10)
2 In a certain light, was one periodically crazy, as they thought? (7)
3 If one royal head were missing, additional wanderings with no visible means of support would be things that one couldn't afford. (14)
4 Producers might hope for a good one when the tipster comes around the vessel. (7)
5 Good things to eat by way of state direction? (6)
7 Some foreign-born have the sort of things that might be acute, or even grave. (7)
8 A good baseball player who took months to show up, as a nominal thing? (4)
9 Obviously the workers on 1 and 6 have to meet like this. (6,8)
13 What Edison did about a stem's make-up is something to put your money into! (10)
17 Cheese insect that shows up for a little time. (7)
19 The tiller of the soil who gives vegetables to the worker? (7)
20 The diving bird comes up with more than a hundred, being enough to wreck a ship. (7)
21 An undeveloped plant had incorrectly placed the focus of certain religious people. (6)
23 It's connected to the trunk in more ways than one! (4)

PUZZLE BOOK

Book 5 of "*The Nation*'s Best Puzzles" is available for $5 ($9 for Books 4 and 5). Send your check to: E.S. Lewis, 32 Pembroke Avenue, Acushnet, MA 02743.

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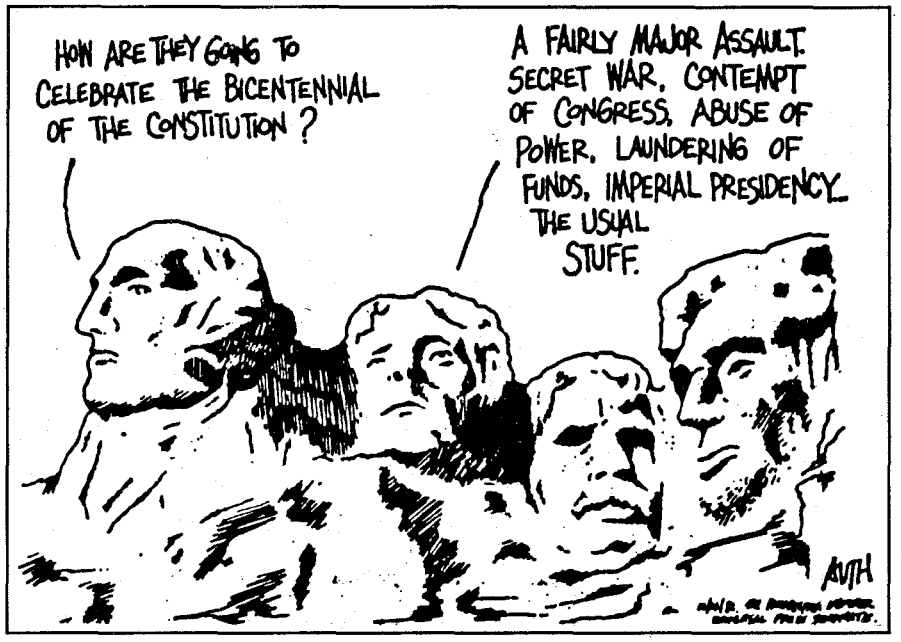
The Constitution and the National Security State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